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THE DEBATE.

THE main question which has been debated this week with so much fulness and so much ability by the Lords, was not whether the Irish Church should be disestablished and disendowed, but whether the Lords should pass the second reading of the Bill. It must be owned that the cause of those who were prepared to throw out the Bill on the second reading fell during the two first nights of the debate, so far as the lay Lords went, into singularly weak hands. The Peers who were ready to advise the House to run the enormous risk of quarrelling with the Commons and with the nation, who thought that the Lords ought to reject without further consideration a Bill supported by majorities so large and so unwavering in the Commons, were Lord HARROWBY, Lord CHELMSFORD, and the Duke of RUTLAND. It was thought politic by the Opposition to put forward Lord HARROWBY as the main opponent of the measure, in order to show that the attempt to throw out the Bill was not a mere party manœuvre; but the event showed that it is a mistake to hand over the conduct of a case to a weak advocate merely because his antecedents will gain him credit for impartiality. Lord HARROWBY's speech was simply deplorable if meant to act on the minds of men at such a crisis. It was an old-world tale, to the effect that PITT and PEEL and PLUNKET and GRATTAN never dreamt of such a Bill, but that a Mr. DILLON (who was either dead or alive, Lord HARROWBY did not know which) had bargained for it with Mr. GLADSTONE, and that its details had all been stolen from Mr. MIALI, and that it was contrary to the Coronation Oath and the Act of Union—which did not really signify, but yet was slightly material—and that the great thing was for the Lords to check democracy. These were actually the grounds on which, at this time of day, a peer picked out to give the keynote to a great party combination invited the Lords to enter on the most serious struggle their House has ever braved. The Duke of RUTLAND did certainly come to something definite. He wished the Bill to be rejected because by it the money of the Church was given to Maynooth. It is needless to say that nothing of the sort is done by the Bill; but even if it were, there would be nothing more necessary than to get the Maynooth compensation from some other source, and then the Bill would express the national will. To reject a Bill altogether on account of one clause in it which might be easily amended shows an appetite for a useless fight worthy of an Irishman at a fair. Lord CHELMSFORD took a much easier line, for he escaped out of argument into the recesses of his conscience. He avowed that he considered it quite immaterial whether the Bill expressed the national will or not; nor did he think it necessary to trouble himself about the future. The Bill was wicked, and he would vote against it. Exactly the same line was taken by those of the bishops who were for rejecting the Bill; but to be careless of consequences, and to go on recklessly for principles, seems suitable, and in a certain sense not discreditable, to bishops. An ex-Chancellor might be supposed to be capable of looking forward for a few weeks, and of thinking what was best to be done under a given set of circumstances.

The Ministerial speakers shone by the side of such poor opponents, and Lord GRANVILLE gave universal satisfaction by the neatness with which he made the best of a difficult position. It was perhaps a piece of superabundant frankness to own that the Ministry had rejected amendments in the Commons to which they were not really averse, in order to have something to yield in the Lords. These little games should be played perhaps, but not revealed. All the Opposition speakers, however, allowed that Lord GRANVILLE had put as much gilding on the pill as possible. Nor was there anything in the speeches of the other Ministerial speakers to awaken much irritation or to excite much comment, although Lord CLARENDON told the Peers a disagreeable home-truth when he reminded them that they really disliked Lord

DERBY's Reform Bill much more than the Irish Church Bill, but swallowed it because it suited their party to get it passed. The only speaker who entirely failed to sustain the expectations formed of him was Lord PENZANCE, who laid down some extraordinary propositions in singularly senseless and inelegant language. There is a total want of anything like political logic and principle in the mind of a man who could avow that he would perpetuate what he called a "moral deformity" in Ireland, if he could believe that its removal would in any way tend to deprive England of having in its Established Church a happy medium between infidelity and enthusiasm. The true spirit of Protestant ascendancy breathed in every word of what was equivalent to the old familiar declaration that Ireland ought to suffer any kind of evil the alleviation of which would sacrifice any good which an Englishman chooses to fancy he enjoys. It is not perhaps saying much to say that the palm of the debate on the first two nights rested among the lay Lords, with those who, belonging to the Opposition, took the wise and sensible line that the Lords would be extremely foolish if they did not pass the Second Reading. The best of these speeches was undoubtedly that of Lord GREY, because he put his main point with the greatest force and cogency. To his opinions on the Irish Church we cannot attach any value, for they amount to this—that the Irish Church is a very bad thing, but that it is a low, factious, unstatesmanlike course to touch it, unless at some undisclosed time and in some undisclosed way of which Lord GREY would possibly approve. But Lord GREY was treading on new ground, and on ground whither it was profitable for his hearers to follow him, when he invited them to consider how hopeless it was to suppose that the opinion of the nation would undergo a sudden change at the last moment as to the Irish Church, when this opinion had been slowly and silently growing for thirty years. It was also a useful parallel to remind the Lords that it was by rejecting the Reform Bill of Lord GREY that the Peers then lost all chance of mending it, and that the Ministers of the day found themselves unable in the face of a great popular excitement to concede amendments to which they had no real objection. Lord CARNARVON and Lord STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE added the weight of their authority on the same side, and the adherence to their views of the Duke of RICHMOND was made in a high degree valuable by the courage in separating himself from old colleagues and friends that it displayed.

It was high time that Lord DERBY should come to the rescue when he opened the debate on Thursday night, but excepting that he spoke with great earnestness, and that his presence and example animated his followers, there was not much in his speech to change the opinions of any one. He went back in the strangest, most unpractical way into old historical reminiscences to show that the property of the Church had been protected by the Lancastrian kings. He took up ground abandoned even by Lord HARROWBY, and asserted that the Act of Union bound the Imperial Parliament irrevocably. Stranger than all, he revived Lord HARROWBY's statement that the Bill was an embodiment of Mr. MIALI's scheme, as if it signified in the least where a Bill came from, or who first thought of its provisions, when it has actually passed through the House of Commons by enormous majorities. But Lord DERBY has held high office, and knows something of the working of the Constitution, and he was aware that he must do something a little more than merely indulge in historical quotations, or insinuations that all the Cabinet is governed by Mr. BRIGHT, who, in his turn, is the mouthpiece of the illustrious arch-spoiliator, MIALI. He had to explain to his colleagues why it was that he advised them to run the great risk of rejecting the Bill on the Second Reading; and he took the ground that it was hopeless to propose any amendments, because in the House of Commons the Ministry would listen to no amendments. Lord SALISBURY, on the part of that section of the Opposition which supported the Second Reading,

answered this argument, and answered it in a manner that was, we think, perfectly conclusive, although he could not in his position urge one of the strongest reasons for seeing a difference between the amendments which the Lords may make and those which were made in the Commons. He could not so wholly separate himself from his party as to criticize Mr. DISRAELI's amendments, which were not amendments at all, but which amounted to a new scheme for increasing the endowments of a Church that was to be disendowed. But, as a reply to Lord DERBY, the answer of Lord SALISBURY was complete. Either the amendments to the Bill which the Lords may make will be rejected, or they will be accepted. If they are accepted, evidently the Lords will have done very much for the Irish Church; if they are rejected, then the onus of letting the Bill drop for this year will be thrown on the Ministry. Lord SALISBURY pointed out also that the Lords have a great power of driving a Government into a compromise; because the Lords can only be vanquished by something like a *coup d'état*, and the nation would neither understand nor support a *coup d'état* undertaken merely to uphold the opinions of the Ministry on some little question of detail. This is all quite true, and it is most earnestly to be hoped that the views of Lord SALISBURY may have prevailed with a number of Conservatives sufficient to secure the Second Reading, although it may be found difficult hereafter to make any other amendments in the Bill than such as will comfort the Lords with the persuasion that their efforts have not been wholly without fruit.

THE SPEECHES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.

THE most powerful speakers against the Bill have been found among the Bishops, but then the Bishops had an enormous advantage. They had a kind of sacerdotal privilege of talking beside the mark. They left to CÆSAR the things that were CÆSAR'S. They considered themselves to have nothing to do with the secular and earthly question whether the Lords can successfully reject a Bill heartily supported by the nation, and addressed themselves to the nobler and more abstract question whether the Irish Church deserves its coming fate. As the Archbishop of DUBLIN said, his remarks "moved in 'another sphere'" than that of calculations of the interests of the House of Lords. In their own line the Bishops opposed to the Bill spoke exceedingly well. There was vivacity in the speech of the Bishop of DERRY; there was energy, stir, and spring in the speech of the Bishop of PETERBOROUGH; and there was great feeling and much grace of language in the speech of the Archbishop of DUBLIN. Very few speeches among recent speeches in Parliament read so well, as regards language and the framing of periods, as this speech of Archbishop TRENCH; and although it was perhaps too studied and polished, yet it was irradiated with the play of a deep and earnest religious feeling. If it did not convey the impression of coming from a strong mind, it did convey the impression of coming from a mind sensitive, refined, and not unfitted for a crisis which will demand in the leaders of the Church, as the first qualification, the power of sympathy with others. Strong, however, as was the language used by the bishops who wished that the Bill should be altogether rejected as an unholy thing, and sincere as was indisputably the feeling that animated them, none of them produced so great and so immediate an effect as was produced by the speech of the Archbishop of CANTERBURY in favour of the Second Reading. The declaration of a man in such a position, that he believed that the Bill, if taken into Committee, might be made a good Bill, necessarily affected the minds of many. It must be owned that, if his speech is examined, it is difficult to gather from it what are the amendments consistent with the principle of the Bill which he thinks could be carried, and which, if carried, would make this bad Bill a good one. The amendments which the Archbishop actually suggested were that the glebe-houses should be given over free from the charge on them; that 1560, not 1660, should be taken as the date to which private endowments should go back, and that a little should be taken off the compensation to Maynooth, on account of the short time the students stay there. We suspect that these are very much the amendments which Lord GRANVILLE said the Ministry had cunningly left for the Lords to make; and if these are the amendments which would make the Bill a thoroughly good one in the eyes of the PRIMATE of the English Church, the Bill may be very easily improved. The speech of the Bishop of St. DAVID'S was altogether in a different tone and on a different level. It was the speech of a churchman whom experience and study and a patient searching into the foundations of things have made liberal and wise and

courageous. It needed all these qualities in a bishop to announce that he was going to vote for the Second Reading because he thought the present position of the Irish Church ought not to continue, although he would have preferred the concurrent endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. And scarcely less were all these high qualities needed when the Bishop denounced as heathenish the notion that to apply Church property to the best use was sacrilegious, and when he assured his hearers that they need not be afraid of the Papal power if only they would be true to Protestantism and leave off comparing the Protestant Dissenters of Wales with the Romanists of Ireland.

There were, it may be acknowledged, two points unfavourable, not to the Bill, but to the arguments generally used by its supporters, which the speeches of the Bishops brought into prominence. They showed some reason to think that the ease with which the new Church Body can be formed, and the success with which the voluntary system can be worked by the disendowed Church, have both been overrated. The Archbishop of DUBLIN pointed out very forcibly how many and how complicated would be the questions to be decided by men of different religious parties, unaccustomed to common action, and with their minds inflamed and irritated by recent defeat before the Church Body could be formed. The Archbishop most properly pledged himself to do his very best if the unwelcome task of having to aid in forming the new Church Body is imposed on him. But there can be no doubt that this task will be a very arduous one, and that many whose concurrence is essential will abstain, at any rate for some time, in assisting in doing what they will consider to be the work of those who have spoiled and wronged them. Rough things will not be made smooth by fine words, or by shutting our eyes to them, and it appears probable that the present great irritation in the Irish Protestants against the Bill will create a serious obstacle to the formation of a new Church Body in the time limited by the Bill. Like other obstacles, this may be overcome, but it is an obstacle which before long may cause anxious attention. In the next place, there is, it must be allowed, some truth in what the Bishops said as to the chances of the Church under a voluntary system. There are two hindrances to the Irish Church as a voluntary Church; it is a mild, reasonable Church, and it will largely depend on the landed gentry. The surest way to get money is to get it out of the mass of the people, and the way to get it out of the ignorant and superstitious is to frighten them and preach a very terrible creed, and to keep it constantly before their minds that if the terrors of the creed are to be mitigated, money must be forthcoming. English Churchmen cannot do this, for the English Church deals with religion in a different spirit, and addresses itself to minds capable of being influenced by another set of motives. Then, again, it is unpleasant for a Church to have to depend principally on the landed gentry; of all classes the least willing to give to great objects, and with the least spare cash in proportion to their incomes to give in the cause of religion or charity. As the Bishop of PETERBOROUGH put it, with a contemptuous scorn of the Irish gentry and nobility that could not be surpassed, they will begin by keeping a tame Levite in their houses, and when they are tired of him, and grudge him his pittance, they will run over to England, where they can get the ministrations of the gospel of their salvation for nothing. The fate of the Episcopal Church in Scotland is very much in accordance with these dismal prognostications. There the greatest landowners are Episcopalian, and sometimes, to show their grandeur, keep a tame Levite in the house, but the Episcopalian Church is left to starve. This is certainly a great danger ahead for the Irish Church. After it is disendowed, its members will have most abundant means to support it, but they will principally be of a class whose view of a Church is that it should be a safe, respectable institution, kept up for them by some sort of lucky accident. This is all true, but then it is impossible to suppose that the Church of a small minority is to be endowed largely with national property merely that it may give such people what they wish for.

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH produced an effect on his audience which has rarely been equalled by any one who has spoken in Parliament for the first time, and he threw a heart into the Opposition which it scarcely had before, and which died out of it when the defence of the cause passed into other hands. But on the main question of the debate he had not much more to say than the other bishops who opposed the Second Reading. He even went further than most of the Bench would be inclined to go. For he owned that the nation had pronounced distinctly against establishment. He aban-

done establishment, not willingly, but because not to abandon it was to fight for something utterly hopeless. But he thought that the nation had not pronounced in favour of disendowment, and that disendowment was so utterly wrong as to necessitate the rejection of the Bill. This view gave an opening for oratory which might have been impossible if he had pursued the conclusions of common sense, and asked what was the course by which the greatest amount of endowments could be saved to the Irish Church. The Bishops of RIMON and TUAM added little to the arguments or statements of their predecessors, except that the Bishop of TUAM could speak of Protestantism in the South of Ireland from the experience of a quarter of a century of parochial work. His experience proves to have been that the Protestant clergyman has a usefulness of his own as a poor but benevolent gentleman, and as a slight aid to Roman Catholics against the oppression of the priests. That a man doing such a work, although it may be a work different from what would naturally seem to be his especial province, should be lost henceforth to the South of Ireland, is a distinct national loss. But every one is perfectly aware that it is quite impossible to make great changes, and carry out great principles, without causing inconveniences and imposing sacrifices that are most lamentable. Does the Bishop suppose that, when Protestantism triumphed and monasteries were suppressed, there were not extinguished in many peaceful neighbourhoods centres of gentleness and piety and learning, or that, when the Presbyterians were turned out of their English livings, there were not many parishes which had to deplore the substitution of the roystering, swaggering Levite of a Cavalier landowner for a simple, austere, God-fearing minister. If the Bishop, and those who talk as he talked, would only ask themselves whether Ireland is to be governed in religious matters on principles which England would not permit for a moment at home, and which she applies nowhere else in all her wide dominions, in order that in remote Irish villages there may be a gentlemanly safeguard against Ultramontaniam, we know perfectly well what the answer would be. The answer would be that this was not to be expected for a moment. But men like the Bishop of TUAM naturally speak under the influence of personal memories and local associations. It might have appeared unnatural, and almost unseemly, that a Bishop coming from such a part of Ireland should have argued on general principles. To speak and vote against the second reading is part of the character assigned to him. But he may be very glad if he votes and speaks as he ought to do, and yet does both ineffectually, and if the good sense of lay peers rescues him from having thrown away the last chance of making somewhat better terms for his Church.

MR. MOTLEY'S INSTRUCTIONS.

THE summary of Mr. MOTLEY's instructions, which has been published with the sanction of the American Government, though it contains nothing unexpected, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. It would perhaps have been useless to resume negotiation at present, but the professed hope that the English Government will after a time take the initiative might almost be construed into a covert demand of voluntary humiliation. The passage in the summary which relates to the Proclamation of Neutrality is scarcely intelligible, except on the assumption that it is intentionally inconsistent; but it would seem that Mr. MOTLEY is at the same time to admit that the declaration of neutrality affords no substantial ground of complaint, and to urge that nevertheless it resulted in losses which require reparation. As England has already accepted the only form of convention which has been proposed by the American Government, it evidently rests with the Power which has contemptuously refused to ratify its own treaty to propose some alternative form of settlement. The PRESIDENT and his SECRETARY OF STATE are fully aware that claims of redress founded on the declaration of neutrality will never be admitted as proper subjects for compensation or for reference, and it can scarcely be doubted that reasonable Americans have been satisfied by the recent discussion that the demand is wholly untenable in law and justice. It is perhaps not seriously intended that Mr. MOTLEY should do more than keep the question open until popular opinion in America has decided in favour of peace or of war. There is nothing to prevent a just and equitable arrangement but the almost universal hostility to England which, alternately ebbing and flowing but never permanently subsiding, is habitually watched and utilized by the managers of political parties. If at any future time the majority of the people should wish to terminate the quarrel which has been fastened on England, the Government of the day and the Senate can easily give

effect to the general wish. The overbearing tone of the instructions to Mr. MOTLEY was probably necessary to suit the national taste, and they indicate no desire of an immediate rupture. His own cold and measured replies to the ill-timed Addresses of the Liverpool Chambers of Commerce have been sharply criticized in America on the erroneous assumption that they exceeded the narrowest limits of courtesy. On one point at least Englishmen may heartily agree with Americans, though from an opposite point of view. It would be a gross blunder to thrust public professions of goodwill on a Minister who could not reciprocate the simplest civilities without exposing himself to reproof and disavowal. Expressions of friendship to the United States are invariably received with insult, as proofs of timidity or of weakness; and it is not fair to expose a diplomatist to the alternative of being either rude or unfaithful to his trust.

The temporary reaction which was produced by Mr. SUMNER's extravagance, and by the unanimous protest of all parties in England against his insolent demands, is rapidly disappearing; but it may perhaps leave behind it some useful results. Dr. WOOLSEY's lecture at Yale College, Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH's deferential speech at Ithaca, and Mr. FORSTER's plain account of the history of the Proclamation, have convinced all candid and temperate Americans that the recognition of belligerency was a thoroughly justifiable act. An elaborate confutation of Mr. SUMNER's speech, published in the *Baltimore Southern Metropolis*, though it is fuller and more conclusive than Dr. WOOLSEY's lecture, will probably be repudiated as an exposition of American opinion, because it is tainted with the suspected air of Maryland. The same unanswerable facts and arguments had been repeatedly urged by English writers; but Mr. SUMNER has the merit of having for the first time, and against his will, secured a hearing for the truth. He was probably disappointed to find that the intelligence of the more respectable journals revolted against his formal repetition in the Senate of the monstrous accusations and pretensions which had been frequently anticipated in their own columns. Having repudiated and confuted Mr. SUMNER's fallacies, the same writers are now reverting to their habitual tone of depreciation and scarcely suppressed menace. The Republican leaders are at the same time considering the comparative expediency of selecting enmity to England, or some domestic question, as the issue on which the autumn elections are to be contested. Mr. BUTLER, who hopes shortly to be chosen a Senator for Massachusetts, has already commenced the agitation by a characteristic proposal for the discontinuance of commercial intercourse with England. As becomes his character, he is careful to rest his case on general animosity, rather than on any special pretext. Admitting that the concession of belligerency affords no ground of remonstrance, and being stopped by his former devotion to slavery from taking up Mr. SUMNER's philanthropic pretext for enmity, Mr. BUTLER candidly goes back to the good old legend of GEORGE III.'s Hessian mercenaries, and of the employment of Indian allies, which was ninety years ago denounced by CHATHAM. For these and similar reasons Mr. BUTLER recommends a commercial excommunication, which, as he cheerfully suggests, would starve the English poor, and so through bread-riots, ending in insurrection, cause a ruinous revolution. The immediate incidence of Mr. BUTLER's amiable project deserves the notice of Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH, who thinks it consistent with his dignity to accuse his own political opponents in England of an imaginary crime before a foreign and unfriendly audience. Only strong prejudice could have induced an able and honest Englishman to tell his American hearers that the Tories would welcome a rupture with the United States, although Mr. DISRAELI and Lord STANLEY systematically discouraged during the war all expressions of sympathy with the Confederate cause. Even if his charges had been just, it is not on the Conservatives or on the aristocracy that Mr. BUTLER's vengeance is in the first instance to fall. The artisans who endured the cotton famine with patience for the sake of the North are now, if the Republican leader has his way, to suffer a bread famine wantonly created for the avowed purpose of driving them to distress and despair. The proposal is of course insincere, as well as intrinsically absurd, because Mr. BUTLER knows well that the Western farmers and the Chicago corn-dealers will not in time of peace deprive themselves of their best market, even for the purpose of causing bread-riots among the Lancashire cotton-spinners. The significance of the speech consists, not in its substance, but in the proof which it affords that one of the most crafty and successful of political adventurers thinks that there is something to gain by expressing his desire to starve the people of England. If Mr. SUMNER, with the more decorous, though not more scrupulous, Re-

publican leaders, adopts Mr. BUTLER's tactics, every village and town in the Northern States will within two or three months resound with denunciations of England. It must be said in Mr. BUTLER's defence against Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH, that if a war of the last century is a sufficient reason for a new conflict, Mr. SMITH's apologetic statement that the American war was conducted by a demented King and a narrow oligarchy is substantially inaccurate. The English people, whatever may have been their political privileges, were unanimous in opposing the colonial demand for independence, and the KING, who had not then become insane, only represented the national feeling. It may also be allowed that Mr. BUTLER comes nearer the truth than Mr. SUMNER when he dwells on the misdeeds of the Hessians as well as on the exploits of the *Alabama* as a ground for the reprisals which he recommends. It is almost impossible to impress on the short memories of newspaper readers the undoubted fact that American animosity and vituperation had reached a height which it was impossible to transcend long before a plank of the *Alabama* was laid.

The duty of the English Government, if not agreeable, is fortunately simple. The differences of opinion which existed as to the policy of Lord STANLEY and Lord CLARENDON in their conduct of the negotiations have lost all practical importance. A pliability which might have been deemed both excessive in itself and inexpedient for its immediate object, has produced the incidental advantage of proving to the world that the ultimate failure was not the fault of England. Concession produced constantly increasing demands and a contumelious rebuff. There is no danger that the only remaining course of patient firmness will give any just ground for offence. Even American susceptibility can scarcely have found any pretext for resentment in Lord CLARENDON's cautious answer to Lord STRATFORD's prudent remarks; yet Mr. SUMNER and Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON would perhaps have been surprised to find that they were classed together as the two eminent persons who had done most to remove erroneous impressions. It is perfectly true that Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON elicited the friendly feelings of Englishmen to America, and that Mr. SUMNER gave them an opportunity of showing that, if they were willing to conciliate, they were determined not to yield to insult or to menace. No similar triumph, voluntary or involuntary, awaits the present American Minister. Even if he shared the desire of his predecessor to renew friendly relations with England, recent circumstances have shown how limited is the effect of his commission. Although no envoy from the United States would command more personal respect or esteem than Mr. MOTLEY, there is no disrespect in saying that in political position he is not yet the equal of Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON. The late leader of the minority in the Senate was so universally respected by his colleagues, that they publicly resented an insult which Mr. BUTLER, in the conduct of the impeachment, had offered with his usual coarseness to the Democratic Senator for Maryland. The confirmation of Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON's appointment as Minister to England, at a time when the PRESIDENT's other nominations were almost uniformly rejected, was a proof of personal confidence as well as a preliminary approval of the settlement which, as the Senate well knew, he would be instructed to negotiate. It is impossible that Mr. MOTLEY can receive from his own party so peculiar and exceptional a compliment; but, as it seems that for the present he will have nothing to do, his virtual want of full powers is not a cause for regret. If the Convention had been ratified, the probable rejection of the *Alabama* claims by an arbitrator who was guided by the rules and precedents of international law would perhaps have embittered the dispute even more effectually than Mr. SUMNER's speech.

MR. BRIGHT ON THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

IT would be a curious though barren inquiry whether Mr. BRIGHT's occasional violations of propriety are unconscious or wilful. It is difficult to believe that a man of genius, practised in affairs and accustomed to associate with statesmen, should be unable to appreciate either the duty of official reticence or the utility of good manners. Perhaps Mr. BRIGHT may have persuaded himself that a certain bluntness of language is acceptable to the mass of his followers; or he may desire to assert, by indifference to the feelings of his colleagues, and by calculated rudeness to his adversaries, the independence of his present position. The late insult to the House of Lords is not perhaps in worse taste than his jeers against the Bishops at Fishmongers' Hall, nor is it as dangerous as his speech on the ownership of land in Ireland; but, if it had produced any effect,

it would have tended to prevent the adoption by the House of Lords of the principle of the Irish Church Bill. In former times Mr. BRIGHT, in his anxiety to facilitate a great political reform, has so far imposed restraint on his own character and disposition as to recommend a liberal and conciliatory mode of dealing with the Irish clergy, and even with the Church as a corporate body. His proposal of awarding out of the reclaimed endowments a gross sum to each of the three great religious bodies was equally sagacious and just; nor is Mr. BRIGHT especially responsible for the omission of the provision in Mr. GLADSTONE's Bill. His speech on the second reading, while it was, as might have been expected, singularly eloquent, was entirely inoffensive. It seemed that a sense of responsibility inspired by a grave occasion had for the time superseded the instinct of pugnacity, which has since revived at the most inopportune of moments. Even if Mr. BRIGHT had offended the feelings of the House of Commons, he could not have alienated the compact majority which was returned for the express purpose of supporting Mr. GLADSTONE. It was not equally certain that he might not confirm wavering peers in their determination to prefer their own convictions to political expediency; but the temptation to affront the House of Lords when it was in a painful and embarrassing position was irresistible, and perhaps not unwelcome. The inhabitants of Birmingham are now satisfied that their patriotic representative has not been won over by the blandishments of aristocracy and fashion. If his coarse attack on the House of Lords had been less entirely wanton and unprovoked, it would not have served the purpose so effectually. It has been suggested on plausible grounds that Mr. BRIGHT wished to secure the rejection of the Bill, for the purpose of creating an agitation against the House of Lords; but it is equally probable that he may have desired to deprive the peers of the credit of a prudent conformity, by attributing their possible acquiescence to fear. The vanity and narrowness which are oddly combined with Mr. BRIGHT's great intellectual power prevent him from appreciating the motives or the capacity of his opponents. It is possible that he may mistake the dispassionate wisdom of the Bishop of St. DAVID's, or the vigorous sagacity of Lord SALISBURY, for hypocritical cowardice. Mr. BRIGHT deals with political controversies at home in the same spirit which inspires the SUMNERS and the BUTLERS of America in their treatment of international relations; yet experience shows that good manners are in the long run conducive to practical success.

A disputant who calls his adversary a fool has always the satisfaction of giving pain, and even of telling a portion of the truth. All men, and all bodies of men, are capable of some degree of folly, and the House of Lords includes some simpletons, a few unprincipled spendthrifts, two or three hundred commonplace gentlemen, and not a few theoretical and practical statesmen. An average peer is perhaps exceptionally liable to overrate his own importance, and, on the other hand, he has generally been trained in habits of courtesy and self-respect. If the peers were paired off with an equal number of the members of the House of Commons, on the principle on which boys choose sides at cricket, it would be found that there was little difference in the respectable mediocrity of the majority, or in the ability of the leaders. As orators, Mr. BRIGHT and Mr. GLADSTONE may happen to be superior to any competitors in the Upper House, but the speakers in this debate have, on the average, been fully equal to those who preceded them in the discussion. The statement that "the House of Lords is not very wise" is only true in the sense in which the same proposition would apply to the House of Commons, or to any assembly in Christendom. If Mr. BRIGHT had not been blinded by prejudice, he might have inferred, from the existence of the House of Lords, that its traditional policy had been marked by extraordinary wisdom. A vessel which has lived through innumerable storms must necessarily have been managed with some regard to the laws of navigation. The habit of calculating the possibilities of resistance affords in itself a sound political training. The crude and insolent menace of a revolution in the event of the rejection of the Irish Church Bill would have been more effective if the threatened destruction of the House of Lords had not been obviously unconnected with the condition suggested. Mr. BRIGHT advises the constituencies to consider, if the Bill is thrown out, what is the use of a Constitution in which the will of the people as represented in the House of Commons is not immediately supreme; but, whatever might have been the fate of the Irish Church Bill, the same objection would remain as long as it was possible that the House of Lords might dissent from the conclusions of the House of Commons. The use of an existing Constitution is in

well-governed States taken for granted, until on rare occasions it becomes expedient to recast political arrangements. If Mr. BRIGHT really holds the opinions which he expresses, he ought to be already prepared with a plan for abolishing the House of Lords. The contemptuous toleration which he offers, in case of submission, must be entirely inconsistent with his principles.

Mr. BRIGHT is perhaps deficient in sensitiveness rather than wilfully disloyal to his colleagues. Having notoriously entered the Cabinet against his wishes, he claims the right of remaining a demagogue, even though he has condescended to become a Minister. He has at different times propounded a finance scheme of his own, and an Irish policy of his own; and now, without consulting the convenience or the feelings of the members of the Government, he stirs up the passions of the multitude against the House of Lords. The jurisdiction of Cabinets, as of other select bodies, over their members is limited by the sanctions of which they can dispose. To coldness and tacit disapproval Mr. BRIGHT would be wholly indifferent, and dismissal offers no terrors to an unwilling associate. As in many similar cases, a troublesome friend is tolerated because he would be more dangerous as an enemy. On three or four occasions Mr. BRIGHT has compromised the Cabinet by his independent action, but it is probable that his official position has interfered with many impulses of violence. The PRIME MINISTER is probably not unwilling to have in the Cabinet a powerful ally against the advocates of moderate counsels; and the advantage of ruling the Radical party through its acknowledged chief must be obvious to all members of the Government. After any outburst of violence or insult, it is easy to assure either House that the Government is not answerable for the unofficial language of a single Minister. Lord GRANVILLE's amiable and courtly apologies for such documents as the letter to the promoters of the Birmingham meeting have, on ordinary occasions, a pleasing and humorous effect; but on Thursday evening he betrayed the embarrassment in which Mr. BRIGHT had involved the Cabinet, by unaccustomed awkwardness and irregularity. Mr. GLADSTONE for once excelled his accomplished colleague in readiness and tact; and, it may be added, that Colonel NORTH's plain question was far more judicious than Lord CAIRNS's five-and-twenty minutes' speech.

It may be doubted whether the more prudent Conservative leaders would desire the exclusion of Mr. BRIGHT from a position in which, while his impetuosity is partially hampered, its periodical outbreaks must always be inconvenient to the Government. If he were out of office, his hostility to peers, to bishops, and to landowners would be more frequently and loudly expressed. It is possible that his ferocious virtue may be softened in time by contrast with the polished wisdom of statesmen who are, with one doubtful exception, assuredly not democratic enthusiasts. The half-dozen peers who are allowed to possess a certain degree of merit are probably the same who sit by Mr. BRIGHT's side in the Cabinet, and by degrees it may dawn on his imagination that there may be respectable qualities even in independent peers. The popular ANTÆUS cannot be prevented from occasionally touching the earth, and in the Cabinet he will find it comparatively difficult to use his giant's strength like a giant. If Mr. BRIGHT's Birmingham letter had any purpose except to please his constituents and himself, his calculation has been disappointed. There is no reason to suppose that his gratuitous provocation has induced a single peer to vote against the second reading, although it may have satisfied the party of resistance of the justice of their preconceived resolution. It may be lawful to learn from an enemy, but judicious belligerents consider his probable wishes and motives, instead of either following his ostensible advice or adopting the exact negative of his suggestions. If any member of the House had been weak enough to be afraid of seeming to be frightened, he could scarcely have failed to understand that, if he wished to set Mr. BRIGHT at defiance, he need not vote against the second reading. Any amendment of which the House of Commons was likely to disapprove would serve the purpose of provoking the threatened collision, though in a less dangerous shape. It is possible that some thoughtful members of the House may even have been capable of recognising the admixture of truth in an offensive taunt. As it is said, with a kind of paradoxical accuracy, that calumnies are always well-founded, insults also are pointed by an intuitive perception of the weaknesses which invite attack.

FRANCE.

THE riots which have followed the French elections, having no ostensible purpose, are naturally attributed by all parties to the section of their enemies on which they especially desire to cast discredit. Even the Orleanists, who have never been in favour with any mob past or present, have, it seems, bribed men in blouses with little packages of forty sous, which have or have not been found on the persons of some of the prisoners. It would be interesting to understand the mode of reasoning by which it is assumed that the friends of Parliamentary Government persuade themselves that it is worth their while to pay a body of noisy vagabonds for bawling out the name of a Jacobinical pamphleteer; but perhaps the relation of imaginary motive and alleged effect is not quite so remote as when PITT, according to the most approved Republican writers, paid the expenses of the September massacres. A more popular theory represents the EMPEROR himself or his Ministers as the real authors of the late disturbances; and the encouragement which was lately offered to anarchical speeches and to Socialist writings furnishes a pretext for an imputation which is nevertheless probably unfounded. It was intelligible that on the eve of the elections the middle classes should be reminded of the dangers from which, if official assurances are true, they were saved eighteen or nineteen years since by the suppression of the Republic. Since 1851 no shopkeeper has been obliged by a tumult to close his shutters, nor have the aspirations of artisans for the destruction of capital been until lately publicly expressed. It is not known how far the experiment of tolerating agitation succeeded in influencing the votes of capitalists and traders. The electors of the great cities are counted by tens of thousands; and the large majority are workmen, who perhaps regard the prospect of a political convulsion with indifference or complacency. The owners of property and the employers of labour may possibly have supported the official candidates, or they may have abstained from voting, although it is generally believed that they incline for the most part to the moderate Opposition. If their passive or active adhesion to the Imperial Government is thought important, it cannot have been deemed expedient to disturb their confidence in the permanence of order and security. An Emperor who allows mobs to assemble night after night in the streets of Paris and Nantes runs the risk of being thought no better than a constitutional King. The least that an absolute ruler can do is to give protection in exchange for liberty. It is highly improbable that the Government should deliberately tamper with the dangerous element of a riot in Paris. It is true that the garrison is a formidable army, that the strongholds of former insurgents have been demolished, that the new streets are open to the movements of cavalry and artillery, and, above all, that NAPOLEON III. is not likely to follow the example of CHARLES X. or LOUIS PHILIPPE; yet it is not forgotten that two successive dynasties have been overthrown by the rabble of Paris, which has never forgotten the more famous epoch of its own disastrous domination.

The investigations which have already commenced will probably prove that the mob of rioters was simply a riotous mob. The cries which were uttered in honour of M. ROCHFORT seem to indicate the absence of conviction or serious design, for the ingenious libeller who has lately become notorious represents no political opinion. If the troops had been withdrawn, or if the EMPEROR, like his predecessors, had run away, leaders would have been forthcoming to profit by a casual revolution; nor is it impossible that a few obscure journalists may have remembered how in 1848 the writers of two newspapers coolly assumed to themselves the Government of France. Even in England Mr. BEALES and his associates proved two or three years ago that a great city can always furnish the materials of disorder; and the traditions of Parisian insurrection are far more popular and exciting than the memory of Lord GEORGE GORDON. Two sons of M. VICTOR HUGO, who have, it seems, thought it prudent to retire to Belgium, may perhaps have employed themselves in propagating the hereditary doctrine that it is always meritorious to rebel against Governments and to shoot policemen. The heroes of M. Hugo's most voluminous romance exhibit a noble patriotism by sacrificing their lives on a barricade in an absolutely hopeless struggle, after putting to death many soldiers who were discharging their duty. The rioters of last week were happily less bloodthirsty and less bold, perhaps because it is not easy to barricade an open boulevard in the face of three or four squadrons of cavalry. Their intention was probably to do as much mischief as was compatible with the circumstances, and, in the improbable contingency of

success, to proclaim the Red Republic. If it should appear that police spies had a share in instigating the disturbances, it would not be surprising that those respectable functionaries have, as usual, laboured in their vocation. A Minister or Prefect would have shown himself even more imbecile than perfidious if he had taken a part in the organization of a riot.

As the Legislative Body will not, except for formal purposes, meet for some months, the EMPEROR will have time to consider whether his policy is to be modified in consequence of the elections. The rumours of the dismissal of M. ROUCHER are founded only on conjecture, and it seems improbable that a change should be hastily effected which would almost amount to an admission of Ministerial responsibility. Mr. DISRAELI, with strict propriety, resigned when the constituencies had decided in favour of his opponent. The retirement of M. ROUCHER, followed by the accession of Prince NAPOLEON or M. ÉMILE OLLIVIER, would be an act of deference to the Opposition, which only constitutes one-fourth of the Legislative Body; and yet it is not certain that either of the supposed candidates for office would be more popular than the actual Minister of State. The adverse elections have implied want of confidence, not in any member of the Cabinet, but in the EMPEROR, or in the Imperial system. If it is intended that the Legislative Body shall be elevated into a Parliament, M. ROUCHER would be one of the most efficient of Parliamentary leaders. If the constitutional traditions of England were applicable to France, it might seem a comparatively easy task to govern the country through a majority of three to one in the Lower House, with the aid of a unanimous Senate; but it is not certain that representatives who are prepared to be docile would, if they were admitted to a share of sovereign power, be proportionally manageable. The majority is returned to support the absolute authority of the EMPEROR, and not to share his responsibility. In one of the clever apologies which purport to represent political facts, the electors of rural districts are represented as finding fault with the EMPEROR for not choosing his Deputies himself, instead of giving the people the trouble of voting. The Opposition, as far as its different sections have a common purpose, is bent on asserting the right of the Legislative Body to control the choice of Ministers and the general policy of the Government. If the majority found that the principle of representative government was admitted, its members would find a difficulty in understanding the nature of their own mission and doctrine. On the whole, it seems probable that the EMPEROR will persist in maintaining personal government. Before the next election his son will be of an age to take a part in public business; and if he should display the ability and vigour of his family, he may possibly revive the popular enthusiasm which hailed the establishment of the Second Empire. A dynasty which has maintained itself for a considerable time may alter the character of its administration with comparative impunity. When Austria adopted a Constitution, there could be no question of removing the ancient House of HAPSBURG. If a constitutional government were restored in France, political critics would inquire what was gained by substituting the BONAPARTES for the liberal Princes of ORLEANS.

The controversies suggested by the late returns have not yet subsided. It is certain that nearly all the principal Orleanists have been defeated, although the election of M. THIERS on the second ballot was anxiously desired by the entire body of the Opposition. On the other hand, it is perhaps true that the numbers of the Socialist voters were too highly estimated in consequence of their success in some of the great towns. The actual supporters of RASPAIL, of GAMBETTA, of ROCHEFORT, and of the other chief revolutionists, may perhaps not have been more than a hundred thousand, or one per cent. of the whole constituency. How many advocates of anarchy may have been scattered over the electoral districts where there was no Socialist candidate, it is impossible to ascertain. The populace of the cities is probably inclined to Jacobinism, while the rural departments still prefer the Empire to a Republic. There is no reason to believe that any constituency in France has returned a member for the express purpose of representing the system of regulated liberty under Parliamentary government. M. THIERS finds favour with the Parisians, not as a former Minister of a constitutional King, but because he is the most formidable opponent of the EMPEROR and his Ministry. If the second ballot had followed the riots, it might possibly have appeared that the Government had recovered a portion of its former popularity. The unity of the Opposition is proved to be a fiction as often as the legitimate consequences of revolution assume a visible form. The most discontented father of a family prefers the EMPEROR, with all his shortcomings, to the ruffians who affect to imitate

the exploits of 1848. It is even possible that, under the influence of immediate alarm, the Duke of PERSIGNY may have found readers for the curious letter in which he illustrates recent history by the examples of BRUTUS, of PUBLICOLA, and of DEMOSTHENES at Chæronea. The timid shopkeeper has a confused association of quotations from the French translation of PLUTARCH with the terrors of the great Revolution.

BANKRUPTCY.

THE Bankruptcy Bill has passed through Committee, and approaches much more nearly to what such a measure ought to be than it did in the shape in which it was at first introduced. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL has shown judgment and temper in his consideration of the various proposals which have been made, both by lawyers and merchants, for the improvement of the Bill; and though there still remain serious defects to be remedied, there is everything to encourage the hope that further progress towards sound principles may be made before the Act receives the Royal Assent. The alterations, however, have not all been improvements; and the worst feature of the Bill, the hard and fast line drawn between bankrupts who do, and those who do not, pay ten shillings in the pound, remains as yet unchanged, to await the further criticism which it may receive in the House of Lords. The original proposal was that a bankrupt, after giving up all his property, should receive his discharge in either of two events—if his estate paid ten shillings in the pound, or if a special resolution of creditors were passed expressing their opinion that the bankruptcy had arisen from unavoidable misfortune, and their desire that a discharge should be accorded. The discharge, when so given, was to free the bankrupt from all proveable debts, with the invidious though traditional and not very important exception of debts to the Crown. These provisions were accompanied by a clause, novel but thoroughly sound in principle, by which a bankrupt who failed to obtain his discharge was to be free from the attacks of his creditors for a term of five years, and if within that time he succeeded in making up the ten shillings in the pound, was to be discharged as completely as if his estate had realized that amount in the first instance. It was pointed out, in our pages and elsewhere, that indulgence of the kind granted by this last clause to an undischarged bankrupt was all that any man who had not paid his debts could fairly ask for. It is one thing to give time and opportunity to an insolvent trader to redeem his fortunes, and quite another to confiscate one half of the debt due to an honest creditor for the benefit of a person who may or may not be an honest bankrupt. Inability to pay is the only conceivable plea for relieving a defaulting debtor from the obligation of returning what he has received in money, or money's worth, from a too confiding creditor, and when the inability ceases the relief ought to cease with it. Policy and mercy equally require that a man without property shall not be persecuted all his life by claimants whom he has no means of satisfying, and this end is completely assured by allowing a reasonable respite in time for the bankrupt to recover himself, and by depriving creditors of the power of inflicting imprisonment. But honesty and justice equally demand that, whenever a bankrupt shall acquire the means of paying his unsatisfied debts, he shall apply his newly acquired wealth to that purpose, instead of living in luxury on what is really the property of others. All reason and fairness pointed to the excision of the clause which granted a discharge to any man who paid only half his debts; and it was fully brought before the mind of the House of Commons that continued liability for the full amount (relieved only by personal protection) was the rule in almost every civilized country, and had been the rule in England also until comparatively modern legislation had indulged bankrupts with a discharge in full as a sort of set-off against the severity of the law which sanctioned imprisonment for debt—a law which is now almost entirely repealed, and before this Session is over will be completely abrogated. The House of Commons, however, appears to be not quite ripe for so large a reform, and the unanswerable arguments of Mr. JESSELL and Mr. RATHBONE in support of it failed of effect, though not without evoking considerable support. We take this principle to be rather postponed than rejected, and we are satisfied that until it is accepted and applied in its integrity, though with every possible consideration and protection for a bankrupt who remains unable to satisfy his creditors, we shall not have a bankruptcy law that will survive more than a very few years. This is just one of the matters on which the acumen and judgment of the House of Lords may be usefully brought

to bear, and we do not yet despair of seeing a principle substituted for a mere expedient before the present Bill assumes its final shape.

Another glaring defect to which we directed attention has been removed with the ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S concurrence. It so happened that, when the Bill was introduced, the country had in Mr. Commissioner BACON a public servant who by common consent was better qualified to discharge the duties of Chief Judge in Bankruptcy than any other man in the kingdom. It also happened that the existing Court of Appeal for Bankruptcy was a Court which enjoys ample leisure, and which has for many years disposed of the Bankruptcy business with an amount of despatch and efficiency which could not be surpassed. In this state of affairs every one was astounded to find that the Bill contained clauses transferring the appellate jurisdiction from the Court of Appeal in Chancery to the much more fully occupied Judges of the Common Law, and so restricting the choice of the Chief Judge as to exclude the best possible selection. The singularity of the proposal was aggravated by the fact that it involved the continued payment of Mr. BACON'S salary, without retaining the benefit of his valuable services—an excellent arrangement for him, but a very bad one for the country. Mainly on the suggestion of Sir ROUNDELL PALMER, but with the hearty concurrence of every lawyer in the House, Sir ROBERT COLLIER consented to modify his Bill by accepting as Chief Judge Mr. Commissioner BACON, and by retaining to the Court of Appeal in Chancery its old Bankruptcy jurisdiction.

The most important of the other discussions in the Committee were those which arose on the composition clauses. Both commercial and legal opinion are somewhat divided on this subject. That there are some cases in which the interests of creditors and debtors alike are better served by an inspection or composition deed than by a bankruptcy is not disputed. Neither can it be doubted that the great majority of these arrangements by deed are corrupt and unjust contrivances for the purpose of defrauding the general body of creditors, and too often of securing a secret bonus for the influential friends of the bankrupt, who figure as the leading creditors at the meetings called together to sanction a composition. How to escape the mischiefs of these deeds without abolishing them altogether has always been a great crux, and neither the clauses of the Bill nor the amendments proposed to them have solved the difficulty. The proposal of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL was to allow of liquidation by arrangement without bankruptcy on the vote of a large proportion of creditors, but only on condition of a *cessio bonorum*, which would make the arrangement equivalent to bankruptcy in everything but the stigma of the name. If a case occurred in which a valuable business would be sacrificed by a compulsory liquidation, the Bill afforded no opportunity to the creditors to get the benefit of it by continuing the trade under inspection, or by striking a bargain with the bankrupt and his friends to grant a release in consideration of a certain percentage of their claims. The abuses that had attended arrangements of this kind were, it seems, considered (and we are not prepared to say wrongly considered) so flagrant as to outweigh the occasional advantage of such proceedings when conducted with exceptional fairness. The discussion closed with a promise of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL to meet the case if possible by a new clause. It will not be easy to frame an enactment which will reconcile the conflicting views that prevail on the question, or satisfactorily deal with the serious objections either to a system of arrangements at all like that which now exists, or to a Bankruptcy Bill entirely devoid of any such provisions. If inspection and composition deeds can be freed from the frauds which ordinarily taint them, they ought not to be utterly excluded from any system of compulsory liquidation of the affairs of insolvents, and we shall wait with some interest for the clauses by which the ATTORNEY-GENERAL hopes to cleave his way through this formidable obstacle. With or without them, the Bill is a decided advance on any previous measure, and promises to mitigate, if it does not remove, the many defects which have marked every successive stage of our Bankruptcy Law.

THE AGITATION MEETINGS

IF we have sought in vain, even in the Lords' debate, for an intelligible account of what is meant by the alleged reaction and change of opinion in the country on the Irish Church Bill, it is futile to attempt to discover it in the fervid oratory of the speakers at the monster meetings which are now of daily recurrence. But there are certain facts to face, and to harmonize and account for as we can. Before the General Election

the principle of the Government measure was, very distinctly and intelligibly, disestablishment and disendowment. For ourselves, though it is superfluous to go back into such old-world matters, we never concealed the fact that, with the Bishop of St. DAVID'S of the present time, with Earl RUSSELL and Earl GREY of two or three years ago, with PITT in the old time before us, we should have preferred the statesman's policy of a triple endowment, and, for the matter of that, were it not a sort of contradiction in terms, of a threefold establishment. But let that pass. Mr. GLADSTONE, under whatever influence, pertinaciously resisted the policy of levelling up, chiefly perhaps because it was known to be, to some extent at least, that of his rival, Mr. DISRAELI. Mr. GLADSTONE went to the country on the conjoint and inseparable issue of Disestablishment and Disendowment. And we must say that the Irish Church, by its authorities, played into his hands. The great Dublin Conference would not consent, to use Bishop THIRLWALL'S language, to be an Established Church; they desired to remain the Established Church, or to be extinguished. All or none was their choice. Here at least both parties understood each other; the point itself was of the most primary implication—and so was the decision of the country. And where there is reason, or the power of reasoning, in the opponents of Government, this point is at least admitted. The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH himself admits it, and with commendable frankness. He cannot deny that the constituencies expressed themselves with the most indubitable certainty and explicitness on disestablishment. It could not be otherwise. Disestablishment is a single, simple, and unconditioned idea, and admits of no qualifications or modifications. To disestablish can be answered, but by a simple Yes or No. One-half of the controversy is therefore got rid of by merely enunciating the terms of the question. Not that the speakers at the meetings have the sense or the honesty in all cases to admit that the voice of the constituencies decided even thus much. It is a curious fact that every one of the speakers who protest against disestablishment either uses the word as equivalent with disendowment, or, in talking against disestablishment, argues against disendowment. The fallacy is an obvious one, and we need not go back to our WHATELY to expose it. However, we may satisfy ourselves that it is not even pretended that the elections have not pronounced very emphatically on disestablishment. "I distinctly recognise the fact that the nation has pronounced—and I believe irrevocably pronounced—in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church." After this admission of Bishop MAGEE, it is superfluous to pursue the wrangle.

It is granted, then, however unwillingly, that there is no reaction in the country against disestablishment; is there any change in the popular sentiment as regards disendowment? The argument, so far as we can winnow any argument from the rhetorical chaff that is flying about, stands thus:—Mr. GLADSTONE has deceived the country. The Bill is not in accordance with his promises. He promised one thing; he has given us another. He undertook to disendow the Establishment; he is endowing Maynooth. He undertook to take away the property of the Irish Protestant Establishment; under cover of bestowing it on any or every thing except religious institutions, he is in fact giving it to the control of Papist authorities—to Guilds, Confraternities, and Sisterhoods, who must in Ireland have the management directly or indirectly of all these Lunatic and Blind Asylums, and the rest of it. At the elections the constituencies perhaps consented that PAUL should be robbed, but they were not told that PETER was going to be subsidized. The Lord CLAUDS and the Lord GEORGES owe us, what they will not pay, some thanks for putting their argument into an intelligible shape and manageable form; but this must be their meaning. How do we answer them? First, that they cannot show that this distinction between what Mr. GLADSTONE was supposed to have undertaken to do, and what he has done, has possessed itself of the popular mind. Here and there a small Wesleyan says that had he but known that Maynooth was to have its debt forgiven, or to be presented with a lump sum to start with, he would never have sat on the Chelsea or Lambeth Committee which helped to return one of Mr. GLADSTONE'S followers. This only shows that the aforesaid Wesleyan Committee-man could not, or would not, see quite so far as his nose last autumn. But about this notable distinction which is now so clearly seen at the monster meetings, how comes it that it is not seen among the Liberals of the House of Commons? To say that they are so universally blinded, so generally unfaithful to their Protestantism, so bound and manacled by Mr. GLADSTONE, that they cannot see or will not see what is so plain and clear to the Wesleyan and "No Popery" talkers on

the platforms, is not to say much for the intelligence either of the senators or of the constituencies who elect them. But this is beside the question. The argument now so clamorously urged requires the production of a large class of politicians, out of Parliament at least, who are in favour of disestablishment, in favour of disendowment, but object to the particular kind of endowment—which we are told is in fact Papal endowment—proposed by Mr. GLADSTONE. This is the class we ask to see in the flesh; to have their names and numbers and personality pointed out. Because it is of no use to talk about reaction and the changed voice of the country, or of those simple souls who never had the issue fairly before them. These are impersonalities. We want to know who is reacting, whose voices are changing, who the men are who have been deceived and taken in by Mr. GLADSTONE. And in answer we get our old friends, who all along and from first to last were opposed to the whole thing—disestablishment, disendowment, and all the rest of it—and who desired the continuance of Protestant ascendancy, and in their heart of hearts wanted the repeal of Emancipation, and secretly hankered after the revival of persecution and the Penal Laws. Reaction, therefore, when hunted back to its last earth, means that they who disliked the principles of the proposed Bill last year naturally enough this year dislike those principles when embodied in the terms of an enactment. This is really what the alleged Reaction comes to. So that, after all, the arguments on the monster platforms, when most favourably stated, amount to a strong suggestion for discussing the details of the Bill strictly, and even stringently, in Committee, but, so far as they are sound, also go to the full extent of proving the necessity of giving it a Second Reading.

In what we are saying we by no means admit that there is the shadow of injustice, or the suspicion of favouritism, in the proposed dealing with Maynooth; but we do admit the existence in the country of a headlong No-Popery prejudice; and the fact that there are so many people, to use the expression of one of their own prophets, who "refuse to stand by quietly while Antichrist is robbing 'the Established Church,'" would at least justify the Lords, as it might have justified the Commons, in dealing more generously and liberally with the Establishment in the matter of disendowment. The proposed bonus to Maynooth might justify a larger bonus to the Establishment. If that were the aim of the meetings, as it is the aim of the Bishop of St. DAVID's and the Duke of RUTLAND, we should say that such an argument deserves most careful consideration. But unfortunately it is not the tone of the Reactionists and the monster meetings. As before, all or none. It is not that the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans and the Ulsterites love the Establishment much, if they love it at all, but that they hate Popery more. They care nothing, or next to nothing, for Archbishop TRENCH, but they care very much about Cardinal CULLEN. The organists and vergers of Armagh might fast, and fast for ever; but what they grudge is that the Christian Brothers or the Sisters of Charity should have any bread and onions. An appeal, forcible if not quite unanswerable, has been made by such men as the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, the Duke of RICHMOND, and the Bishop of St. DAVID's for treating the disendowed Establishment with something more of generosity and liberality; but this is not what the great meetings want. They want Irish Romanism to be proscribed and starved, and, if they dared, openly persecuted and kept down. They object, as they say, to "Maynooth being permanently endowed with 'funds taken from a Protestant Church'"—this is now the language of the Wesleyan organs; but this is only half the truth. "They have always objected to the Maynooth 'Grant,'" as they add. Here is the real pinch. They are only using the Establishment as their stalking-horse against old game. The worst aspect of the present noisy agitation is that the Irish Church, as it stands, and still more as it will stand as a disestablished community, is likely to be inextricably entangled with a blundering, noisy, turbulent, No-Popery faction. If it is to continue to exist at all, it ought to exhibit distinctive claims on the old solid ground which its best friends claim for it, not as a mere Protestant faction, but as equally removed from Popery and Puritanism. This is just the character which the monster meetings deny to it, and which they seem likely to prevent it from ever developing. If the Irish Established Church is only what its new allies and defenders represent it, it has no *raison d'être*; it ought to be absorbed by its more energetic sister, as for their own purposes they call it—the Presbyterianism of Ulster and Aghrim and the Boyne. And the chances of its coming to this are not likely to be decreased when it comes to be only a voluntary institution.

THE LIFE ASSURANCE BILL.

THE enormous frauds committed by so many of the managing bodies of Joint-stock Companies have again and again suggested the remedy of a compulsory system of returns. Already the existing law has a multitude of provisions directed to the object of making wilful fraud and concealed insolvency impossible in these cases, but little success has hitherto attended these laudable attempts. The ingenuity of the framers of Acts of Parliament has been baffled by the greater ingenuity of the conductors of bubble Companies. One more effort is now being made to enforce honesty by legislative provisions. A Bill is passing through Parliament the purpose of which is to enable assurers to know whether the Company which they trust with their premiums is likely to redeem its promises, and to pay the sum assured when the contingency of death arrives. If there is any class of Companies to which stringent regulations ought to be applied, it is to Insurance Offices. From the nature of their business they are necessarily paid in advance, and the answer to the all-important question whether it is safe to rely on the solvency and honesty of those who undertake to provide for the needs occasioned by the death of the assured, rests at present upon little else than general reputation. And the mischief is fearfully aggravated by the fact that an insurance office may be really insolvent and incapable of meeting the liabilities hanging over it, and yet go on for many years with an abundance of ready cash at command. For the first twenty years of its existence any insurance office which has a moderate amount of business must be receiving in premiums far more than it has to pay in losses, and the semblance of solvency may be kept up long after it has become certain, to all who are in the secret, that there is no chance of its engagements being ultimately kept. It is only after a long existence that the ratio of losses to premiums attains its normal amount; and when the insufficiency of the assets is at last disclosed, it is too late to save some thousands of victims who have entrusted the office with the most important investments they can be called upon to make. Nor is this postponement of liability the only thing which cloaks the insolvency of many assurance offices. Their whole system of accounts is based upon the estimates of actuaries, and there is nothing more unsound than the principle on which too many of these officers calculate the assets at their command. Future business is assumed to supply the means of covering expenses properly chargeable against the assets actually realized, and statements of profits are often put forth which have no foundation but the hope of future prosperity. That these are not imaginary evils has been unfortunately demonstrated by the number of Companies of this description which have been wound up by the Court of Chancery; and all the reputable and established offices must be quite as anxious as Parliament or their customers can be to enable the world to distinguish between offices which really assure, and offices whose function is limited for the most part to the receipt of premiums. Probably very few even of those who were well informed on the matter were prepared for such a return as has recently been made to the House of Commons on this subject. In the last twenty-five years 272 Insurance Companies have been formed. Of these more than half (152) have been wound up or have discontinued business, and the cessation of business means, of course, the non-payment of policies. Besides these, 44 more have been absorbed by other offices, leaving only 76 out of 272 still subsisting as independent Companies. Nor is this perhaps the whole of the dismal story. The proportion of Companies formed before 1862 which have broken down is 85 per cent., while of the more recent Companies only 53 per cent. have as yet come to grief. Of course the older Companies have lived long enough to reach the period of trial, but it cannot yet be said that those formed under the Act of 1862 will ultimately show a better percentage, though any one who is so minded may indulge the hope that recent Companies are more prudent and honest than those of twenty years ago.

Whether the Bill which has been introduced will suffice to cope with this serious evil may, by the light of past experience, seem doubtful, but no one can question the importance of the object which it has in view, or the zeal with which its framers have sought to ensure success. No measure approaching this in its searching stringency has ever been proposed, and, though it may possibly raise objections in the minds of economists of the *laissez faire* school, we have seen enough in the last few years of the policy of letting dishonesty alone, to justify almost any interference which promises to check the tide. Returns, in forms which appear to exclude the possibility of evasion, are proposed to be annually required from every Life Assurance Com-

pany. If the forms given in the schedule of the Act are found to be insufficient to elicit the requisite information in the case of Companies doing special business, the Board of Trade is empowered (though only with the consent of the Company concerned) to alter them so as to make them more effective in carrying out the objects of the Act. If the returns are false in any particular to the knowledge of any one who signs them, the offence is to be punished by fine and imprisonment. In addition to this the Board of Trade is authorized, on the requisition of twenty or more policy-holders of three years' standing for amounts not less in the aggregate than 20,000*l.*, to direct an examination into the affairs of a Company. Probably the Board of Trade will in this matter do nothing, with its accustomed energy. Still these provisions are on the face of them sufficiently stringent, and though it is impossible to gauge beforehand the powers of evasion which necessity may develop in Boards of Directors, we are bound to say that, short of absolute falsehood involving penal consequences, we cannot see how a Company can under the proposed system contrive to misrepresent its position. The first return is to state the income and expenditure of the past year, showing the balance at starting, the premiums on policies, the consideration received for the grant of annuities, the income from invested funds, and the aggregate receipts from all other sources. On the other side are to be given the claims under policies, the payments for annuities, commission and management expenses, the dividends and bonuses which may have been paid, and a list of all miscellaneous payments on other accounts. A second account is to be the balance-sheet up to the date of the return, and it is so framed as to include among the assets only sums actually due, without any entry for prospective and contingent premiums, unless the Directors have the hardihood to include this, which is often the most imposing item to their credit, under the entry of "other assets to be specified." On the other side of the balance-sheet the prospective liabilities for future deaths are equally excluded, so that the Companies will not be compelled to disclose in their annual accounts the possible discrepancy between the amount of the liabilities which they have undertaken and the assets on which they can depend to meet them. This of course is the most essential point of all, and, if it were not provided for, the official accounts would be quite as likely to mislead as to protect assurers. But this matter has not escaped the attention of the framers of the Bill. It seems, perhaps with reason, to have been thought oppressive to require an actuarial estimate of this character to be made every year; but once in five years in the case of future Companies, and once in ten years in the case of existing Companies, an actuary's report is to be made in the form prescribed by the Act. There is no provision as to the time when the first of these reports is to be made, and it would be a very beneficial amendment to require all Companies to comply with the regulation within a year after the passing of the Act. The interval of ten years allowed to existing Companies between successive returns is moreover unreasonably long, as no well-conducted Company ever fails to prepare such statements for its own use much more frequently than the Act would require it to be done. Under the clauses as they stand, an existing Company which is now hopelessly insolvent might go on increasing its liabilities for ten years more without ever disclosing its real position, and unless this clause is made somewhat more severe all the immediate benefit of the measure will be lost. If this defect is corrected, the actuarial returns, though they may possibly be so framed as to deceive the uninformed public, will be in a shape to enable any one who is familiar with accounts of this description to ascertain with certainty the solvency of the Company. Nothing is easier than to estimate the value of a mass of existing policies, subject to a certain small margin of error for bad selection of lives; and if sound life-tables are used, and a proper rate of interest taken, the present value of the policies of an office can be calculated with sufficient nicety. But then, in order that these policies may realize their calculated value, the office must be kept open at a certain annual outlay for management expenses, and it is a common practice with some accommodating actuaries (and the weak offices know well where to find them) to make little or no allowance for these expenses, on the assumption that they will be covered (as they may or may not be) by the profits of future business. In other words, the goodwill of the trade is brought in as an actual asset, and the result is falsified accordingly. To guard against this and similar devices, the Bill requires the actuary to state the principle on which he has worked out his results, what tables of mortality he uses, what rate of interest he assumes, and how he deals with future expenses. With these data honestly

given, the returns will speak for themselves, and no ingenuity will enable a Company to conceal from skilled critics of its accounts the insolvency which may be its real condition. The schedules of forms have throughout been framed with the utmost care, and, difficult as it is to foresee the length to which evasion may be carried, we cannot feel much doubt that, with the slight alterations we have suggested, the Bill may turn out to be a genuine protection to a class (if assurers can be called a mere class) who have been more cruelly plundered than any other section of the community. We trust that the Bill may gain rather than lose in efficiency in its further progress through the Legislature; and we are satisfied that, if it does, it will conduce to the benefit of the many sound offices no less than to that of the public.

THE LIBERAL CATHOLICS OF GERMANY.

WE have lately given our readers an account of some remarkable articles which appeared three months ago in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the subject of the approaching Ecumenical Council. The writer explained with admirable clearness and precision the programme of the Ultramontane party, as it may be gathered from their chosen organ, the *Roman Civilta*, and the inevitable results of their anticipated triumph. But he implied throughout that this triumph could not be achieved without strenuous opposition, though it seemed as if the weight of authority would preponderate on the side of the extreme Romanizers; and he especially insisted that the great body of German Catholics would feel such a result of the Council as an outrage on their deepest convictions of truth. No one who has any acquaintance with the recent intellectual history of Germany, and the present position of rival schools of religious thought in that country, could doubt that he was right. Between the leading minds of German Catholicism and those whose policy is represented by the Congregation of the Index, and freely uttered in the columns of the *Civiltà*, there is a great gulf fixed. But for a long time past the large party of what, for want of a better name, we may call without offence Liberal Catholics, have, with individual exceptions here and there which stand out in honourable isolation, been slow to give open utterance to their thoughts. They seem to have felt that it was almost hopeless, in the present temper of the dominant section of their co-religionists, to attempt to gain a hearing, and they have probably been confirmed in that impression by the torrent of rabid abuse which has overwhelmed the bolder few who have dared to call their souls their own. It was obvious, however, that, as a question of prudence, this reticence must have its limits, unless Catholicism and Ultramontanism were to be suffered to become convertible terms. Another proclamation of the Council, followed up as it has been by open-mouthed announcements of the uses to which they wished to put it from those who are supposed to have the Pope's ear, constitutes a crisis whereby the thoughts of many hearts seem likely to be revealed. At all events, the statements of the writer in the *Allgemeine*, already referred to, as to the mental attitude of his Catholic countrymen, have already received a striking confirmation in the columns of the same journal. A long address to the Bishop of Trèves, issued by a body of "orthodox but educated Catholics" at Coblenz, which is being largely signed by laymen of character and position in the diocese, is now before us. It contains, on the one hand, a vigorous protest against the leading principles of Ultramontane theology, while, on the other hand, it is an indignant assertion of the equal claims of the protesters to be regarded as good Catholics with those who are never weary of stigmatizing them as virtual apostates from the faith. Considering how very seldom any other aspect of Roman Catholic opinion is openly exhibited in this country than that of which Archbishop Manning and the *Dublin Review* are representatives, our readers may be interested to hear something of the views of a very different school as embodied in a document which they have themselves put before the world. There are of course many Englishmen to whom Popery is Popery, and who cannot see much difference between one Papist and another. But, to those who look a little further below the surface of things than Mr. Colquhoun and Lord Shaftesbury, the contrast between such a belief as that expressed in the address of the Catholics of Trèves and the current theology of Roman Catholic periodicals—for they are all now in the hands of the same party—in England, will probably appear not undeserving of notice.

The Address opens by assuring the Bishop of the profound sense of conscientious duty which has constrained the subscribers to make this public declaration of their sentiments, and the more so as he had himself observed in a recent Pastoral that, while bishops alone would have, as successors of the Apostles, the right of voting in the Council, all members of the Church, laity as well as clergy, would have a claim to be heard, and their experience and judgment would naturally exercise a weighty influence on its decisions. There is, they add, a considerable party in the Church whose leaders are not bishops, but laymen and members of religious orders, who are straining every nerve to give the future Council a particular direction after their own mind. And these men not only identify their own wishes and pet theories with the faith and needs of the Church, but denounce all who decline to accept their opinions as dogmas as "Liberal," in con-

tradistinction to "real" (*eigentlichen*), Catholics. They have an organ in the Roman *Civiltà Cattolica*, where they ventilate their views, which are again copied thence into the newspapers conducted by members of religious orders in Germany. The passage we quoted from the *Civiltà* in a former article is then given, stating the desire of all true Catholics for the definition of Papal infallibility and the bodily assumption of the Virgin. And they point out that the importance of these statements lies in the fact of their occurring, not in an ordinary and unofficial newspaper, but in what claims to be a special organ of the Holy See, and is known to express the aims of a great and powerful organization (the Jesuits). Under such circumstances, it would be impossible for those who believe themselves to be no less true children of the Church than their opponents to pass over in silence the proclamation of principles which they regard as erroneous and fraught with the gravest danger. They feel bound to come forward and solemnly assure their Bishop that they "do not share these views, hopes, and wishes of the self-styled true Catholics; on the contrary, they are most decisively opposed to them." Their gratitude to the Holy Father for summoning the Council rests on very different grounds, which they proceed to explain. On looking, they observe, at the present condition of Christendom, we do not see the upgrowth of any specific heresy such as led earlier Councils to define the doctrine of the Church. The infidelity of our own day rests on philosophical opinions the falsehood of which has long since been clearly shown by reference to the great Christian verities, and union with our divided Christian brethren would hardly be facilitated by increasing the number of doctrinal definitions which divide us. The needs of our own time are of a different sort, and the inexhaustible resources of the Church are equal to coping with them. They are such as these—"the liberation of the Church from State control; the restoration of an independent and harmonious movement of the two orders (natural and supernatural) in which, according to God's will, the life of man develops itself; the organic regulation of the part to be taken by the faithful in matters of Church life; the reconciliation of our separated brethren to the Church; the overcoming of social distress; the ascertainment of the true attitude of the clergy and of individual Christians to general cultivation and to science"; these are the crying religious needs of the present, and we look, add the memorialists, for a solution to a Council inspired by the intelligence of the whole Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It will hardly be possible for the General Council to enter on all these points; much must be left for the separate branches of the Church to develop for themselves. But it would be a matter of sincere congratulation if the Council should give new life to the common organization of the Church by restoring everywhere the regular action of national, provincial, and diocesan synods which has lain in abeyance for centuries. Such synods, when their decrees have been based on free and searching deliberations, and adapted to the requirements of real life, have always been most serviceable to the interests of the Church.

If we turn to the relations of Church and State, and the for conditions of modern society, it seems to the framers of the Address to be of the last importance, for the freedom and independence of the Church, that the Council should unmistakably proclaim her sincere abandonment of all desire for a return to mediæval systems. The State, no doubt, has a religious basis, for all authority is based on the recognition of a living personal God, but its sphere is limited by the obligations of the natural and moral law; and that State is most truly Christian which accepts the limitation, and gives full liberty and protection in spiritual matters to the Church and the separated religious bodies which are content to respect its authority within its own domain. The Address proceeds to notice the relations of clergy and laity, and strongly deprecates any weakening of the bond of sympathy between them based on a common education. This is of course a protest against the policy of the German Jesuits in substituting theological seminaries for the training of the Universities. "A narrowing of theological education, and exclusion of theologians from the studies which lead to the original sources of faith and Church development, would be a grievous injury to the ecclesiastical culture and life." These matters are best left to the jurisdiction of national synods. The dangers which threaten the Church from the side of infidelity and the social necessities of the time are an urgent call for the closest union between pastors and their flocks, and hence "an organic association of the laity with the Christian and social life of their parish" is imperatively required. These considerations are strengthened by a reference to the ardent desire which animates the Pope, the Episcopate, and all the faithful, especially in Germany, for the reunion of the Protestant Confessions with the Church. For this desire can never be realized till the most decided steps are taken to disabuse Protestants of the prejudices and mistrust they feel towards their Catholic brethren. And, it is urged, how many of their prejudices would vanish if they saw the Church again quickened by a true corporate life, meeting the social wants of Christendom, and thus learnt to forget their suspicions of a grasping and tyrannical hierarchy seeking dominion over the purses and the souls of its people.

The Address here turns to "another weighty question," namely, the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*, and the attitude of the modern Church towards intellect. It is fully admitted that the ecclesiastical authorities have the duty of watching over purity of faith; but then it is added that the present practice of the Index in putting books supposed to contain some error into a condemned

catalogue, and forbidding the faithful to read them without express permission, in no wise subverts that duty, while it is consistent neither with the dignity of the Church nor with the advance of knowledge. It wholly fails of its purpose, because it is impossible to classify all erroneous writings, the censure depending on the accident of somebody denouncing them; because the authors or books are condemned without specifying the particular error, so that no one is the wiser for the sentence; and, lastly, because the great majority of educated Catholics, as is notorious, neither can nor do pay any attention to it. It is inconsistent with the dignity and spirit of the Church, because good Catholics who, with the best intentions, have unwittingly fallen into some error, or have given offence at Rome without any error at all, are put into the same category with authors of the most scandalous works, and branded with a stigma, while they really deserve the thanks both of the Church and of science. It is injurious to the advance of knowledge, because the fear of having one's good name blasted by condemnation for some accidental slip, or perhaps through the officiousness of a theological opponent, presses like a leaden weight on the investigations of Catholic students. These objections might of course be copiously illustrated from the recent history of German literature, but the memorialists wisely confine themselves to a general statement of principles, adding, "We therefore entertain the hope that the approaching General Council will abolish the Index." The Address concludes in the following words:—

These are the wishes our conscience constrains us to express. We think they have as good a claim to be heard as those of the other party. A sense of duty has led us to come forward with our names, quickened, on the one hand, by perceiving the widespread disgust excited in Catholic circles by the utterances of the *Civiltà*; on the other, by the deplorable timidity which keeps so many silent who ought to speak out. The unhappy schism of the sixteenth century was immediately preceded by a General Council, without its exercising any favourable influence on the result. If the Christian peoples of our own day are really to be won to the Church by this Council, the teaching and ruling Church must not be left to rest on the magisterial and one-sided dicta of a party, but be thoroughly informed as to the true state of men's minds by open and clear avowals, and thus put in a position to meet the real requirements of the time. And we, who, as true sons of the Church, are resolved to live and die in communion with her and the See of Rome, which is our centre, and in filial obedience to your Lordship as our Bishop, have felt it a sacred duty to contribute to the best of our ability towards this end.

It is not necessary to offer any long comments of our own on this remarkable document. Our main object has been to bring under the notice of our readers a powerful and growing phase of Roman Catholic opinion, which to many of those who are not familiar with the subject will perhaps be new. That the present Address emanates from only one diocese is true, but there can be no doubt that it strikes a chord which will reverberate through Catholic Germany, and find a response in the convictions of a large portion, probably a large majority, of the clergy, though, for obvious reasons of prudence, it is only signed by laymen. Two things will occur to every reader on the surface of the document—its studied moderation of tone, and the incisive clearness with which it negatives all the characteristic points of the Ultramontane programme. That the party of the *Civiltà* will be able to carry through their policy at the Council in the face of so strenuous and intelligent an opposition, supposing—as there seems good reason to suppose—that the German bishops are in harmony, as a body, with the sentiments of their people, is hardly conceivable. In any case it would be difficult to overrate the significance, for the future of the Roman Catholic Church, of the trial of strength which is imminent between the two parties within her pale. At a critical moment in her history Ultramontanism has put forward its extremest pretensions with a hitherto unexampled audacity, and with the avowed object of enforcing them on infallible authority upon all who profess her creed. Should the attempt be foiled, it must be long indeed before the party can recover from the effects of what could only escape being a fatal blunder by proving itself a success.

SPITE.

THE idea of malice occupies the mind long before the word, in all its terrors, is familiar. "You did it on purpose," whines the fretful child "under loss or vexation, experiencing at once an added bitterness and a sense of dignity in being the object of malignant design; and henceforth he realizes himself more distinctly as a citizen of the world, a sharer in its trials, already an object of spite, one that will in due time have enemies, who, if he fails, will be the cause of his failure. There are few people who, when things go wrong with them, do not attribute more than is probable to active ill-will on the part of others. Malice is no doubt a power in the world. To work towards a neighbour's downfall, for the disinterested satisfaction of seeing him fall, is the occupation of some persons; but such a solution of ordinary difficulties amongst ordinary people is seldom necessary in civilized society. Persons guilty of the tragic forms of malice are the highest or the lowest among men; on the one hand, kings and conquerors, statesmen pitted against one another at a crisis, heads of factions who must crush one another with a plot; on the other hand, the clown pulling up his parson's tulips or firing his neighbour's stackyard, the operative scarring the pretty jilt's face with vitriol, or blowing up the non-unionist's house and household. People's attention must be fixed long on a single object, their passions concentrated, their thoughts restricted to a narrow circle, for malice to achieve its triumphs, just as venom intensifies itself in dark holes and obscure corners

among ruins and waste places of the earth. In the freer currents of social life, where there is a wide choice of interests and associates, where circumstances combine against the unwholesome fascination of antipathies, human nature is spared these temptations. Nor has it the needful strength and courage. Malice of the broad typical quality does not consist in mere malignity; there must be active mischief, a more than willingness to lend a helping hand. Like Thersites, "it will learn to conjure and raise devils, but it will see some issue of its spiteful execrations." And the opportunity to do mischief, vigilantly watched for, generally presents itself; but this watchfulness men are deterred from, if by no higher motive, by superstition, which reminds them that it is safest not to give the reins to ill-judging. Vindictive persons, says Bacon, live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate. And we see that it is so. There is the feeling that ill-wishes recoil, that our own good things are imperilled if we seriously set about diminishing our neighbour's stock; hence people are amiable in proportion to the interest they have in things remaining smooth and comfortable. Malice does not pay to common people; it is only magnificos and such great folks who find it the one lasting pleasure of life.

But society finds a substitute for malice—a domestic, creditable, neighbourly form of the great vice—in spite. We scruple to call anybody malicious except in history or the newspapers, but with spite we are on more familiar terms. We see traces of it on the faces of some of our acquaintances, in the speech of others, in the actions of some few; nay, we may even detect some grains (when sorely tried) in ourselves, if we are curious in our investigations. Spite does not care to ruin anybody; only it is apt to reverse the apostolic precept, and most especially makes no hand at rejoicing with those that rejoice. It draws unflattered portraits; it picks holes; it finds self-compensation in the misfortune of others. For here, again, it does not do to define spite as mere ill-wishing, even in its most trifling and restricted form, unless action comes in. Narrow sympathies are perpetually immersed in barren discontent with what interferes with one's own convenience—discontent which issues in positive gratification where another's pain brings relief to self. There are many worthy people, devoted to those nearest to them, helpful to their immediate surroundings, who will take cheerfully as a gift of Providence the news of a distant acquaintance's broken limb or fallen fortunes, if these disasters save them from an unwelcome guest or from the derangement of summer plans. In fact, most persons are made so. It is a sign of peculiar sweetness and nobleness of nature when it is otherwise. Yet we deny that these defective sympathies are spiteful, because their satisfaction arises solely from one's own relief, and not from another's pain; such people would be even better pleased if another's good fortune, rather than his ill luck, had delivered them from a quandary.

There are people distinct from these, who do like mischief for its own sake—people who are companionable, who have their good moral points, but who, as we often observe, seem to be not only indifferent to the evil which occurs to others, but actually pleased to find themselves the cause of transient human suffering. They like to abash sensitiveness, and exercise ingenuity to bring this about; when the humour is on them, they say things for the mere pleasure of giving pain, probing a wound, and curiously watching the deportment of the sufferer. There are many more who entertain a sort of general spite against humanity, and enjoy its smaller humiliations, losses, and vexations; who see something ludicrous in everything that alarms, disconcerts, and exposes, as though wit lay in the fact of one person being vexed while another looks on; to whom your being too late for the train, or breaking your horse's knees, or being put out of countenance, are exhilarating circumstances, although they are in no way benefited by your discomfiture; who from their own snug shelter will enjoy the spectacle of a wet, dripping holiday, when weeks of eager anticipation issue in the damp wretchedness of plodding thousands. This pleasure in witnessing disappointment is especially the diversion of spoiled and pampered youth, which has not yet realized the possibility that its own turn may come, and looks upon all misfortune, great and small, in the light of a spectacle in which it has no other concern than as spectator. Time bringing coward fears, if nothing better, does much of itself to cure this heedless and hardhearted malice. The smooth brow and rounded contour which told nothing of what passed within become vehicles of softer expression from the mere encounter with inevitable sorrow; the countenance which before was merely impassive catches the gift of pity, though self may still have the greatest share of it. But if otherwise, if the malice is anything more than thoughtlessness, then spite imprints a mark on the features which says more plainly than any other vice, Beware! For spite, even where it wishes no great ill and is kept in check by conscience, even where it consists in the mere *suspicion* of malevolence, is absorbing. It broods, and thus the features are moulded into a sympathy with the inner mind which no temporary transient mis-doing imparts to them. It prompts thought to dwell most on what it hates or dislikes most; it dominates over reverie.

Happily, however, these are not common physiognomies. That particular malevolent cast of eye and twist of lip are distinctive marks as rare as, on the other hand, are natures that are wholly foreign to some touch of the inhumanity. Some few persons we may all know so free from this gall of bitterness as not only never to our knowledge to have said an ill-natured thing or betrayed a spiteful bias, but of whom we are confident that such a thing never happens either in sport or under provocation; who never

teased even in boyhood; for teasing is the domestic form of the vice which should touch the consciences of the majority. Teasing is undoubtedly a malicious practice where it inflicts annoyance designedly, though it may not be recognised as such because it constantly goes with liking, and is agreeable to the teaser in proportion to his interest in or attachment to his object. A pet son will tease his mother; a brother will tease his idolizing sisters, with the intention of vexing them, and will not stop till he has succeeded; yet all the while the entire party live in habitual ignorance of the motive at work, in a satisfied understanding that this is a sign of affection, and that the pain of the process is undesigned or inevitable; just as it was generally taken for granted that Tom Tulliver was fond of animals because he liked to throw stones at them. In some aspects of family life the illusion can scarcely be more than one-sided; but there can be no doubt that the bullying elder brother who torments his junior, finding the process more amusing with him than with a stranger, supposes in himself a fraternal fondness. Social as opposed to domestic teasing can hardly be wholly unconscious, but it is assumed to be legitimate—a necessary stimulant to the intercourse of friends, or a means of turning ill-humour to account. Thus Swift reports complacently to Stella how he had teased Prior the evening before because he himself was not in force:—"I dined with Mr. Harley, and came away at six. There was much company, and I was not merry at all. Mr. Harley made me read a paper of verses of Prior's. I read them plain, without any fine manner. Prior swore I should never read any of his again, that he would be revenged, and read some of mine as bad. I excused myself, and said I was famous for reading verses the worst in the world." Of course this would be as good as a play to the bystanders, especially as there are two courses open to the victim of spite—the natural and the dignified; and curiosity is awakened. Prior may have done wisely to defend his verses at the expense of his temper; but he not the less followed nature's impulse and made the desired sport. When Lord Chesterfield warns his son against wit, the spitefulness which was then its social garb was probably in his mind. "A wit," he says, "is a very unpopular denomination, as it carries terror along with it, and people in general are as much afraid of a live wit in company as a woman is of a gun that she thinks may go off of itself."

All persons who for any reason preferred a quiet life had in those days to use much the same argument against the loud social aggressions of spite. Thus Barrow on the malignity of so-called zeal:—"A quiet sectary doth to most men's fancy appear more lovely than he that is furiously and factiously orthodox." In fact, wit was not wit without a dash of spite.

Spiteful he was not, though he wrote in satire.
For still there goes some thinking to ill-nature

and we are led to suppose that not only in books, but face to face, the science of provocation was carried to its highest pitch of spitefulness, and that the teasing was of that rough order described as "unflinching frankness." And this is the most piquant form of joke still to a public-house audience, who like to hear an unpopular member remind that "there's things folks 'ud pay to be rid on besides vermin." We would fain hope that such pleasanties are confined in our day to bores, but fiction is at pains to assure us that the drawing-rooms of fashionable life still echo to similar utterances. Novels which profess to represent the manners of society amaze us constantly with these complacent pictures of vulgar spite. It was only the other day that we met with a heroine who, feeling herself "sat upon" by three elderly ladies at an evening party, chose to mistake one of them for a man, looking her in the face as she did so; to pity another for the chill of her low dress, as she must be seventy years of age; and to talk at the third with such malignant point that her victim was driven from the field, leaving her witty opponent victorious, and receiving the congratulations of an eager circle of observers.

It is a testimony to the self-control which civilization confers that spite is not the universal salt of conversation which all literature represents it to be. The fact is that tone and manner can convey the shades of ill-will much more delicately than most pens. If we are not intrinsically more amiable than our forefathers, we have at least found out this more refined method of annoyance. People used to be thick-skinned, and could give and take in a way which would now be extermination. Uncivil things may be so curiously concealed and wrapped up that it is only when too late that the point is detected, and the retort which springs to the dawning intelligence dies in its birth. It is by such arts that the cynical member of polite circles knows how to keep his hold of intercourse with sensitive persons whom it amuses him to irritate. Courtesy, the show of pleasing, cannot be dispensed with in decent society, whatever novelists may say. Dr. Johnson must have mended his manners, must have suppressed many a sneer and ugly spiteful snub, had he lived in these days; and of course he would have mended them. Now, perhaps, the most effective theatres for such performances are the hustings for vulgar spite, and the House of Commons for refined exquisite malice. People may be civil to one another at home, without the assistance of Christian charity, when they have elsewhere a fitting arena for their spleen, and an antagonist at once worthy of their wit, and sensitive to its stabs. We hear of old maids and tea-tables, we see calm private spite now and then setting itself to some long-planned attack. But what can match

in venom the scene when Greek meets Greek in the crisis of debate, when courtesies are flung aside, pungent recriminations take their place, and personalities set in? Then on either side quickened memory from "hiding-places ten years deep" drags forth the damaging fact, the broken pledge, the fatal periods of youth's heedless rhetoric. Then the blunders of a life are set in the glare of five hundred pair of eyes, exposed as a folly, magnified into a crime. And always the practised hand strikes where the nerves are most sensitive; the vigilant eye notes how each stroke tells, and gleams the keener as anguish betrays itself; while, in rapturous sympathy, "the many rend the skies in loud applause."

SPIRITUAL PHOTOGRAPHY.

THE Mayor of New York seems to suffer, like our own magistrates, under the affliction of being called upon to give advice. We read that a young man from the country, suspecting that he had been imposed upon by an artist of the town, went before the Mayor, and propounded to him this question, "Two men what ain't no relations can't have the same grandmother, can they?" The Mayor endeavoured to avoid answering, but the countryman was not to be put aside. He had gone to a person named Mumler, who practised in New York as a "spiritual photographer," and had paid him ten dollars for a portrait of his deceased grandmother. He was so much gratified with this work of art that he returned to Mumler's shop to order a portrait of another deceased relation, but he encountered at the door a man who was affectionately contemplating the features of his grandmother, which had just been produced by the same process and at the same price. The countryman found to his astonishment and disgust that not only the process and the price, but the features in the two portraits, were the same. Now we are quite aware that a man cannot marry his grandmother, and therefore the possessors of two shadowy likenesses of what appeared to be the same lady could hardly be regarded as rival candidates for her favour. We should not apprehend that what is usually called "a difficulty" would arise out of this competition for a grandmother, but we certainly had supposed that the only common relation of all men was an uncle, and it is rather aggravating to find that any man who happens to have ten dollars in his pocket, be he good-looking or ugly, genteel or snobbish, may make himself appear to be a member of one's family. The doctrine of universal brotherhood, however beautiful in theory, requires considerable limitation before it can be reduced to practice. The aggrieved countryman having stated his complaint, the Mayor expressed an unqualified opinion that Mr. Mumler's proceeding was a "swindle," and he directed a functionary who bears the formidable title of Marshal Tooker to visit Mr. Mumler's shop, and desire to be supplied with a spiritual photograph of the Marshal's father-in-law, who is yet alive. Mr. Mumler furnished the required portrait, and thereupon Marshal Tooker took him as a cheat and brought him before the Mayor. Mr. Mumler, however, was not deserted in this emergency by his admirers, for in the number of the *New York Tribune* which notices his arrest we find a letter of a correspondent which declares him to be "a true man, a noble and beautiful specimen of our race," and as much above trickery or swindling as the editor of the *Tribune* is above picking pockets. The writer goes on to declare that the portraits of our grandmothers are "holy revelations," and that Mr. Mumler is "an instrument in the power of the honourable dead"—a statement which seems to have been made in oblivion of the fact that the father-in-law of Marshal Tooker is alive.

The examination of Mr. Mumler on this charge lasted several days, and was conducted with that latitude of evidence and exuberance of oratory which marks legal proceedings in America, especially when the public takes strong interest in them. The devotees of spiritualism rallied in support of Mr. Mumler, and Judge Edmonds, who is an enthusiastic believer in this new religion, testified that during the pendency in Court of an action upon a life policy, he had seen the ghost of the insured dimly hovering behind the back row of seats, and watching the trial of the question whether he committed suicide. It would be highly convenient, in an intricate discussion on the construction of a will, if the testator in the cause could be persuaded to appear and explain his meaning; and as every other point in connexion with our proposed Law Courts has been discussed, it may perhaps be worth while to consider which of the two sites is most convenient for communication with the world of spirits. But to return to New York. We cannot help thinking that a judge would do wisely to keep away from spiritual photographers, because the revelations which they are able to make may possibly prove embarrassing. It does not clearly appear whether these artists undertake to produce only spiritual photographs of deceased persons, for an assistant of Mr. Mumler swore that he told Marshal Tooker that the face dimly seen in the corner of the Marshal's own photograph would be that "of the person most in sympathy with him"—a description which hardly suits a father-in-law, and would be totally inapplicable to a mother-in-law. The Judge enjoys a wider range of sympathy than the Marshal, for he was twice photographed by Mr. Mumler, and on each occasion there appeared in the corner of the picture "a dim outline of a female face, sufficiently distinct, however, to show that the lady was very beautiful." The reporter goes on to remark that spiritual manifestations must have abounded on that occasion, for the faces were entirely different although both were charmingly pretty. We

cannot help thinking that even a Lord Chancellor, who is above all other Judges, and therefore is entitled to larger privileges, would feel that the number of charmingly pretty women who are competing for the honour of being most in sympathy with him must have its limit, and this feeling would perhaps remain even if he had the same offer as was made to Judge Edmonds, of an allowance if a quantity should be taken. The Judge stated that he was charged ten dollars for the first sitting, and only five dollars afterwards. The Judge further stated that he had resolved never to form an opinion without knowledge, for whenever he had done so "he had made an ass of himself." But he expressed the opinion that spirits have so much materiality as to be visible to the human eye, and this opinion was founded on knowledge, for he had seen in Court the spirit of a man whose death was the basis of a suit, and had been told by the spirit that the man had committed suicide. The first spirit he ever saw was that of Judge Talmage, who was leaning against a window-casement, and he saw the window-casement plainly through the body of his learned brother. Another witness produced a spiritual photograph which he had had done by Mr. Mumler. His own likeness was good, but the person most in sympathy with him was so shadowy as to be unrecognisable. After discussion, however, in Court, it was agreed that the face resembled that of Judge Dowling (who was hearing the case), only it was better-looking. We have heard nothing like this since an English Judge asked a shoemaker whether a certain pair of shoes were more fashionable than the Judge's own, and was answered, "Oh yes, my Lord, much more fashionable than those."

The celebrated Barnum was called among other witnesses for the prosecution, and he stated that he had devoted a portion of his life to the detection of humbugs. About seven years ago Mr. Barnum was composing a book on humbugs, and he wrote to Mr. Mumler that he wished to purchase specimens of his so-called spirit photographs for the Museum of humbugs established by him, Barnum. Spirit photographs were accordingly supplied by Mr. Mumler at two dollars apiece, and they were hung by Mr. Barnum on the walls of his Museum for three or four years. Among them were spirit photographs of Napoleon Bonaparte and Henry Clay, and the positions of the figures were exactly like the well-known engravings of these personages. The title of Mr. Barnum's book was *The Humbugs of the World*. All the chapter relating to spirit photographs referred to Mr. Mumler, who does not seem to have objected to the celebrity thus bestowed upon him. The spirit photographs which were hung upon the walls of Mr. Barnum's Museum were labelled "humbug," and the compliment thus conveyed was not repudiated by Mr. Mumler. It was attempted in cross-examination to obtain from Mr. Barnum an admission that he was himself a practitioner in the same line as Mr. Mumler, but Mr. Barnum treated the epithets "cheat" and "swindler" as wholly inapplicable to his own proceedings. He said that he had never been in any humbug business where he did not give value for the money. The woolly horse was a remarkable reality and curiosity. It was not a horse "wooled over," but was born exactly as it was exhibited. As regards the mermaid, Mr. Barnum only said that it was represented to the public exactly as it was represented to him, and we should like to know what Mr. Barnum was expected to say more. He never had reason to doubt that it was what he represented, nor could he have had reason unless he had entered upon a delicate and difficult investigation. We have heard that there was once exhibited in this country a merman who was declared by an Irishman who visited him to be a countryman of his own. But Mr. Barnum, so far as we know, had never heard that his mermaid was not a daughter of the sea. Among a people so polite as the Americans, it would be intolerable that the fair stranger should be troubled with questions as to her birth, parentage, or the reality of her scales and tail. You might just as well ask a lady whom you met in society as to the reality of her complexion or her hair. Mr. Barnum was not bound to put impertinent questions to the mermaid, and indeed we may go further and say that he was bound not to put them. When, therefore, it was proposed by counsel to ask Mr. Barnum whether the mermaid was precisely the same as he had represented, the presiding Judge properly ruled that this question could not be put. For how could Mr. Barnum have answered it if it had been put? He did, indeed, state positively that the horse was not "wooled over"; but he could scarcely state, except as matter of hearsay or belief, that the mermaid was not scaled over, and neither hearsay nor belief are admissible in a court of law. The Judge must reject what is called secondary evidence; but if the mermaid had returned to her watery or other home, it was no longer possible to investigate the reality of her tail. Mr. Barnum, being further asked whether he had ever taken money for the exhibition of spurious curiosities, admitted that he might have given the public "a little drapery" sometimes; but we feel tolerably certain that he gave no drapery in the instance of the mermaid. Mr. Barnum had doubtless learned to repress curiosity at an early period in his successful life; and therefore, when he bought the nurse of George Washington, and paid one thousand dollars for her, it was remote from his thoughts to inquire how old she was. To ask a female her age is as impertinent as to ask whether her head or her tail is real, and Mr. Barnum is a well-bred man. The statement in the bill of sale that this woman had nursed George Washington had never been disproved, and Mr. Barnum had accepted it, and bought the woman at the price put upon her by her owner. Mr. Barnum says, indeed, that "before

she got through," he began to have some doubt whether she had nursed Washington, but he did not put himself out of his way to suggest this doubt to the public mind.

In order to get all possible talk out of a trial, it is the custom in the United States to allow both the defendant and his counsel to address the Court. Mr. Mumler made a clever hit by stating that the face which appeared on Marshal Tooker's picture was "the most villainous he had ever seen," and it was therefore necessarily the likeness of the person most in sympathy with the Marshal. The counsel for Mr. Mumler referred to spiritual manifestations in the Bible, particularly that which was perceived by Balaam's ass, and he thus drew upon himself the answer that the perception of such manifestations by asses was not confined to ancient times. Mr. Mumler was charged with obtaining money by a false pretence, and if it could have been proved that the dim face on Marshal Tooker's picture was produced by mechanical means, the charge would have been made out. But the numerous photographers who were called as witnesses could only prove that such faces could be so produced. It is difficult to see how the case could be carried further, unless the Court adopted the argument of counsel that the Bible was part of the law, and the Bible showed that spiritualism was false. The result was that the prisoner was discharged, and was hailed as a conqueror, by those who would have considered him a martyr if he had been sent for trial. We should expect that his business will be increased by this prosecution, and we would venture to suggest that he should devote a portion of his profits to augmenting his stock of grandmothers. Young men from the country may possibly help themselves to the redress which the law cannot afford them. It is prudent to tell every purchaser to take home his picture and keep it a little time, and then he will begin to see that the shadowy face is very like his grandmother. We have little doubt that the purchaser would begin to see this, provided that the growth of his opinion was not disturbed by finding that a neighbour had brought home a picture of his grandmother exhibiting the very same face.

PARISIAN CRIMINALS.

NOVELISTS have continually tried to enliven their pages by pictures of the enemies to society who lurk in the holes and corners of civilized cities. Since Fielding took Jonathan Wild for his hero, innumerable attempts have been made to describe the professional criminal, but for the most part with very poor success. Indeed failures are not surprising. There is some touch of the poetical in the ideal ruffian who maintains himself in the midst of us in defiance of legislators and police; we think of a bit of wild nature surviving in the midst of a highly cultivated country, and fancy that even the London pickpocket must have something of the grace of the outlaw with his foot upon his native heath. Unluckily the reality is too far from the fictitious personage; our criminals are for the most part as unlike their pictures as the drunken Red Indian of the present day is to Cooper's noble savages, or as the genuine cattle-stealer of the last century to Sir Walter Scott's Rob Roy. They are squalid, prosaic, and hideous beings, whose intellects are little more than animal cunning, and whose instincts are too gross for any decent veil of fiction. Therefore, for the most part, their describer takes refuge in sheer unreality, and gives us types like George de Barnewell in the model novel, or the charming highwaymen after whom that philosophical hero was portrayed. Yet the readers of a late article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by M. Maxime du Camp may perhaps be inclined to fancy that the school of writers who deal in the terrible and revolting might add a powerful chapter or two to the mysteries of Paris without straying too far into the regions of pure fancy. M. du Camp has evidently a close acquaintance with his subject; he has talked with some of the leading men in the criminal profession; he has visited their favourite haunts; he has picked up something of their language; and he gives us an elaborate classification of their favourite pursuits. If, in some respects, the French criminal is little above the wild beast in his propensities, he has yet a certain grim picturesqueness about him which would repay a careful student of human nature. There was, for example, a certain sense of humour about one Beaumont, who got himself up in splendid official costume, with a black coat, a white cravat, and a voluminous portfolio under his arm, and ordered a soldier to accompany him with an air of undoubting confidence. Placing him as a sentinel before the door of the chief of the *service de sûreté*, with orders to admit no one, M. Beaumont repaired to the official apartment, walked off with the valuables, and, dismissing the soldier, disappeared into utter obscurity, sending the same evening a civil note of apology for the trouble which he had given. M. Beaumont, we are almost glad to say, escaped with his plunder from all pursuit. The celebrated Jadin, again, appears to have acted the part of a Robin Hood in modern life. In following his profession of *cambricoleur*—a peculiar variety of burglar—he was in the habit of breaking into rooms, and when he found them specially poverty-stricken, leaving behind him a respectable contribution for the benefit of the fortunate inmate. The delicacy of feeling thus displayed did not imply that he was above doing his work in a more businesslike spirit when occasion demanded, for Jadin was unfortunately executed for murdering a young girl whom he surprised in one of his visitations. A slight touch of good feeling may perhaps be put to the account of another gentleman

who was accused of complicity in a murder of peculiar atrocity at St. Cyr. He pointed out to the President of the Court that he was innocent of any premeditation, inasmuch as he had come without arms to the scene of operations, and had only picked up a stone on the way to help in demolishing the victims. "Why, then," said the President, "did you accompany men whom you knew to be intending a crime?" "Dame," was the reply, "*entre voisins, il faut bien se rendre de petits services.*" Other stories are of a more unmitigatedly revolting character. We have lately been treated to discussions as to the intuitive sense of morality possessed by the whole human race. What sort of moral sentiment could lurk in the breast of the criminal who went to see his brother executed, and occupied himself in picking pockets of four watches and a purse? or of the horrible ruffian of twenty-one who, after murdering his mother with fifty-six blows of a knife, lay down on the bed by the corpse, and, in his own words, "passed a good night"? Much as the plea of insanity has been abused, we would be glad to think that it was possible to set down the crimes of such monsters to some irresistible moral disease.

The heroes of these stories were amongst the aristocracy of their profession. They rejoice in the proud title of *escarpe*, the name given to the genuine assassin who murders systematically by way of opening proceedings, and not as a matter of occasional expediency. Below them are numerous classes of criminals, each devoted to some speciality, and frequently displaying the same sort of skill which we admire in the artisan whose facility in his own branch of work has become an instinct. For the most part, we recognise them as analogous to English criminals of different varieties, though peculiarities of national custom open different modes of attack in the two countries. The *faiseurs*, who are the most intellectual members of the profession, are the swindlers, capable of anything from cheating at cards to getting up sham companies. M. du Camp mentions a certain *Miljiau*, who called himself *Comte de Belair*, professed to be the son of a general of the First Empire, and lived in the very best society on the profits of skillful thefts and gambling. Another, a certain *Pied-noir*, is at the present moment living in great comfort in a large Dutch town. Far below these are the *frances bourgeois*, who get admission into houses as beggars for the purpose of stealing; the *tireurs*, or genuine pickpockets; shoplifters, who are subdivided into many classes, such as those who profess to buy, and take the opportunity of helping themselves under various pretences, and those who venture to break into shops at night; the *roulotiers*, who steal baggage off carts; and numerous others, whose special skill lies in robbing children, in changing mock jewels for genuine, in cheating *restaurateurs*, or in various other departments of business. Between this rabble and the true assassin there is a carefully graduated scale of malefactors. The burglars form the lowest stage. The highest rank of these is the *caroubleurs*, who use false keys. Above them are the *sorgueurs*, the descendants of the old highwaymen. M. du Camp describes one of the last survivors of these gentlemen, who is still in prison at Belle-Isle. His massive lower jaw, moveable eyes, retreating forehead, and long powerful arms give him, says M. du Camp, the appearance, of a huge chimpanzee. Between the *sorgueurs* and the *escarpes* there still intervene the *scionneurs*, who correspond apparently to the English garotters. They are, it seems, rather more objectionable than their analogues, from a habit of depositing their victim in the river. Another pleasant invention employed by these ingenious persons is an eel-skin filled with sand; with this they can strike a heavy blow, and then, emptying out the sand, they have the appearance of being totally unarmed. To read this description may give a nervous visitor to Paris the same sort of shock which an invalid sometimes receives from a medical work revealing hitherto unsuspected varieties of disease. The cockney will tremble as he walks along the boulevard and runs over in his mind the list of professional criminals who may be lying in wait at every corner.

Such a person, however, may more profitably reflect on the question whether we are at all better off than our neighbours. M. du Camp accounts for the numerous army of crime by a theory which we fear will hardly bear inspection. He says that it is owing partly to the want of emigration from France. To this we may reply, only too conclusively, that, in the first place, emigration is confined to decently honest people in England and Germany, and leaves the dregs behind; and, in the next place, that we to all appearance have as large a list of criminals in London as in Paris. It is indeed impossible to arrive at any satisfactory statistics on the subject. M. du Camp gives us a set of figures as to the number of arrests in Paris during the last few years. In 1867 it amounted to over 35,000, whereas ten years before it was only 20,726. This, however, only gives a very indirect impression as to the numbers of the classes living in crime. It includes apparently arrests for drunkenness and for simple vagrancy, and it would be difficult to compare it with English statistics of a similar kind, without knowing many facts as to the efficiency of the police, the causes which justify arrest, and other varying circumstances. The chief subject for remark is that the numbers have so rapidly increased of late years, and especially in the last two years. The absence of emigration can evidently have nothing to do with this, as emigration was no more active ten years ago than it is now. The true explanation would seem to be simpler. The increasing attractions of Paris and the great facilities of travel are constantly drawing a larger supply from the rural population in search of high wages and the various charms of the capital. A similar gravitation towards the

large towns is conspicuous not only in France, but in England and America, though in France it has been more systematically encouraged. The natural result is, that many of the immigrants fail to obtain employment, and go to swell the ranks of the poorest, and sometimes of the criminal, classes. Nothing is more common than to find poor people who have come up from the country to London from a vague hope of improving their position, and have only fallen into deeper distress. The same result is, we presume, at least as common in Paris; and the commercial depression of the last two years has no doubt increased the effect. The sudden swelling of pauperism in the English metropolis has been coincident with the increase of crime in Paris, and is due in great part to similar causes. The chief moral of M. du Camp's investigations would seem to be tolerably obvious. He shows with great force the enormous difficulties of dealing satisfactorily with the criminal class. A man or boy who has once acquired a taste for living on crime is, as a general rule, bound to an almost hopeless servitude. The Jews, according to M. du Camp, show a certain superiority in this respect, which is evinced by the fact that one Jewish rogue never preys on another, and still more by the Jew occasionally saving money and retiring on the proceeds of his profession. This is above the power of most persons who have once tasted blood. They become as incapable of leaving their trade as a tiger of living upon cabbages instead of deer. A thief who has made a successful *coup* immediately proceeds to spend it in debauchery. He may be recognised by a sudden outburst of tawdry finery, and throws away his money upon his mistresses and companions. He returns to his career as certainly as the savage who has received a superficial smearing of civilization throws away his clothes and takes to the bush as soon as it comes within sight. A human being becomes simply a machine for performing one special piece of roguery, and we can no more turn him to account in any other way than we can make a spade out of a skeleton key. The problem, therefore, comes to this—when a man has only one talent, which is prejudicial to society, and no virtues worth mentioning, how are we to make him useful? A versatile thief might give hopes of being fit for honest industry; but nothing seems to be more remarkable, in the French as in the English predatory animal, than the limited nature of his capacity. He resembles a wild beast, which can only get its living after a single fashion; the ant-eater can only subsist by inserting his long tongue into an ant's nest, and the thief has the one available talent of gliding his hand imperceptibly into the human pocket. The thief's pleasures are equally limited; the most mentionable being attendance at certain singing-halls and drinking-shops, which appear to be very similar throughout the world. If it were not for a certain soft-heartedness we might hang all the thieves or shut them up for life, and then make a fair start, though perhaps the vacuum would be speedily filled again from the surrounding masses of misery. As it is, the evil cannot be finally cured without raising the whole standard of life in the lowest classes. A strict and effective police supervision is evidently required to keep it within bounds, and there is little use in wasting sentiment over restrictions on the liberty of such barely responsible persons. Short terms of imprisonment are evidently thrown away; we want vigorous measures in dealing with a class in which even the rudiments of a moral instinct are almost indiscernible; and no means will be effective without a supplementary scheme for cutting off the supply of infant recruits who are constantly drifting into the ranks of crime from the vagabond population of the streets.

MR. CARDWELL AND THE ARMY RESERVE.

FOR nearly three years the *Saturday Review* has been the advocate of a consistent and definite plan for re-organizing the army in accordance with the spirit, the wants, and the examples of the time. In that period the progress made in the subject by public opinion has been rapid in comparison with the rate at which the mind of a people generally moves when great changes are contemplated, and when the matter does not, by its urgency or its exciting nature, exercise unwonted pressure. When General Peel effected his trifling and shortsighted contribution to the reorganization of the army, we believed, and said, that he had lost a great opportunity for achieving an important reform; and we still think that he might have done, as the leader of opinion, with safety and advantage to the country, and with infinite credit to himself, what Mr. Cardwell, as the follower of opinion, is now meditating. The problem was, how to combine efficiency with economy; and, confident of the conclusion to which the practical spirit of the country, when fairly roused, would tend, we ventured long ago to prophesy that the scheme of forming a main reserve of soldiers who had already passed a shortened period of service in the ranks would become the rule. This seems likely to be fulfilled in much less time than we had ventured to expect, and as, amidst the numerous and diversified modifications of this principle which have emanated from public speakers and writers, our ideas on the subject have become only part of a confused mass of thought, we are not sorry for the opportunity which the speeches of Lord Elcho and Mr. Cardwell on the Army Reserve afford us of again setting forth our opinions. But, while we may reasonably suppose that the consistent expression of those opinions has not been without its effect on the public and official mind, we must disclaim all absurd pretension to a monopoly of originality on a subject where the examples of foreign Powers, patent to the

world, formed the common source of those ideas which required only a competent knowledge of our own military system, with its defects and its requirements, to mature into a practicable plan.

Lord Elcho is quite right in thinking that the main want of the time is that of a sufficient reserve. Other deficiencies, of organization, of administration, or of material, may be made good at need by energy, courage, and resource, though, it may be, at heavy cost. But the want of practised soldiers to meet a skilful enemy is what neither wealth nor numbers nor hardihood can remedy. When on the one side are arrayed training, confidence, coherence, and purpose, while on the other these are wanting, mere enthusiasm and patriotic spirit cannot redress the balance; and nobody, we presume, would pretend that our Militia and Volunteers have hitherto attained to such a degree of proficiency or of discipline as would render them equal in manoeuvring to the troops of Prussia or France. Even the manner in which the different kinds of force should be employed, whether in the field or in garrison, as skirmishers, or general line, or reserve, is still matter of debate; and if an enemy's army were to land and aim at London by the route on which the advantages for defence are greatest, and the means of opposing it have been best considered, it is but too likely that the time for prompt action would be passed in confusedly considering how to act. So much of this formidable perplexity as would arise from the disparity in military efficiency of the various parts of the whole force would be obviated by the possession of a reserve equal in quality to the active army; while, in presence of the enemy, the value of fully trained over imperfectly trained soldiers is scarcely to be estimated by arithmetic. Even for defensive purposes, therefore, a reserve of regulars is of incalculable importance; while in a campaign on foreign soil we should have a force at once trustworthy and disposable, instead of being dependent on such precarious resources as volunteers from the Militia, or recruits from the general population of the kind that appeared in the Crimea in the second period of the war. But, while highly approving Lord Elcho's main design, we doubt, with Mr. Cardwell, the policy of the measure by which he proposed to effect it, derived from Sir Hope Grant, and consisting in an enlistment for twenty-one years divided into three equal periods—the first to be passed with the colours; the second in the First Reserve, with liability to be called to the ranks in time of war; the third in the Second Reserve, for home defence only. No doubt a prolongation of that limited degree of liability to service which depends on the chance of war arising in any given interval would be no great additional hardship, and could not seriously interfere with the industrial pursuits of the citizen soldier. But on the popular mind, the idea of enlisting for so long a period, and of accepting responsibilities which would seem much more burdensome than they really were, would certainly have a deterrent effect, and we should prefer to re-engage men for the third term of service, if it were desirable (which we doubt) to retain soldiers so long, while younger men were forthcoming. So far, then, we think Mr. Cardwell's ideas preferable to Lord Elcho's; and the reluctance of the Minister to state definitely the measures of reorganization which he may be ultimately disposed to adopt is itself of good augury, as showing his sense of the necessity of carefully deliberating on the whole scheme in all its bearings, before committing himself to any part of it.

Nevertheless, Mr. Cardwell did announce certain convictions of his own which cause us considerable misgivings. To us, and to most others who have discussed the subject, it has generally seemed a necessary condition of a shortened period of service that troops should be specially enlisted for service in India and the Colonies, while the regular army should be kept at home and in such neighbouring dependencies as may be considered home stations. In this way many great advantages might be expected. Large numbers of recruits would be attracted to the ranks whom the prospect of distant foreign service would deter. A uniform system of discipline and training might be established and maintained throughout the army. The health of the army would be unbroken by the vicissitudes of climate. And the great expense of frequent reliefs would be avoided. But Mr. Cardwell considers the importance of having no separate enlistment for India to be so great that he proposes to regulate the shortened period of service which he contemplates by that which will be sufficiently long to allow of reliefs for India. He thinks Indian service should last five years, and therefore appears inclined to make the first period of service in the army seven years, two of which, we suppose, would be allotted to the preparatory training of recruits in the regimental depots. This we think too long—needlessly long for the acquisition of soldiership, and likely to lessen the chances of success in trade or mechanical labour on returning to civil life. In fixing the period, he seems to have been mainly influenced by the consideration that five years' Indian service is as much as the average soldier can endure. We imagine it is more than the average soldier can endure without injury, and that the result will be a lowering of the average health and efficiency of an increased number of regiments. Mr. Cardwell says that to have a separate army for India would be a complete reversal of a policy recently and deliberately adopted. True; but it was adopted at a time when ideas totally different from those now dominant prevailed; the wisdom of it was gravely doubted at the time, and has been gravely doubted since; and though there are always difficulties in the way of retracing steps so important, yet that is

a very inadequate reason for marring an entire scheme of re-organization by changing one of its main conditions. That men specially enlisted for India would, as Mr. Cardwell says, bestow their sympathies exclusively on the service to which they gave their lives, may be true, and would be, in its degree, an evil; but an evil by no means comparable with the disadvantages which, as we think, will in the other case be entailed on the whole army. Then Mr. Cardwell grudges that the army should lose the benefit of that experience which, he says, five years of Indian service gives. So far as that service may be a period of war, it must of course impart experience of a right kind to the troops employed; but so far as it is a period of peace, it is, we believe, anything but a benefit. It is a period when discipline is impaired by yielding to the conditions of the climate; when ideas and customs at variance with those which should prevail in a European army are acquired, and when injurious indulgence and excess are taught by example more general and pernicious than is to be found in home service. Another objection which Mr. Cardwell makes is, that we ought not to have an army whose services the Queen could not command wherever they might be needed. But we see no reason why the terms of a separate enlistment for India should not be such as to admit of the troops there being employed elsewhere, and such a condition would, we imagine, be regarded as a boon rather than a hardship, as was lately proved when troops in India were required for service in Abyssinia. In fact, we see nothing in any of Mr. Cardwell's objections to a separate army which can be compared in weight to those which may be urged on the other side. To garrison India with troops from the regular army, reliefs must be frequent and costly. A large portion of the army will pass the whole of its effective service in India, and will more or less suffer in health and discipline; the uniformity of the system of training will be impaired, and the project of teaching trades to soldiers, which ought to be part of a good scheme, will be rendered in great measure abortive.

Another idea of Mr. Cardwell's which we think mistaken or exaggerated is the value he attaches to old soldiers. In the time of the First Napoleon, he says, there was the greatest desire to extend the period of service, while the Duke of Wellington thought the old soldier the mainstay of the army. But that was a time of long and destructive war, and the soldier of three or four years' service is, at such a time, a veteran. Even the few who survive in such a period of war to be what Mr. Cardwell understands by old soldiers, are very different from the old soldiers of peace. They are men who have been seasoned, not in barracks or parades, but in actual war; men who hand down the traditions of military sagacity and experience, and embody the memory of former achievements, and who thus keep alive the spirit and the glory of their regiments. No wonder that these should have been considered of infinite value compared with the boy-conscripts or raw recruits whom the exigencies of the day hurried to arms. There is no reason why in time of war the whole service of the soldier, under the new system, should not be passed in the field, and his re-engagement for a further period encouraged. But in peace old soldier-ship means increased pay and pension; it too often means confirmed habits, not of war-like resource, but of intemperance and perfunctory performance of duty; it means marriage in the army, with all the evils it entails, and, too probably, an old age of uselessness and want. We hope, therefore, that this part of the scheme will be so framed as to exclude all re-engagements except those of non-commissioned officers.

We are not sure that we quite understand that part of Mr. Cardwell's speech in which he says that it is desirable not to abandon the present system of enlistment until we have tried the new one. To carry on the new and old side by side would tend to confusion, and would be no fair test of the soundness of the change. The alteration in the terms of enlistment would not affect the existing army further than that if plenty of recruits were obtained by the new conditions, some of our then superfluous older soldiers might be allowed to join the reserve. But if it is found (which we are far from anticipating should the plan get a fair trial) that recruits fail us, there can be no reason why, by reverting to the existing conditions of service, we should not re-establish our army on its present footing, and all chance of disastrous failure would therefore be speedily obviated.

THE NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

IT would be worth while to inquire, if there were any chance of a result from the inquiry, how it is that in certain English towns special characteristics of political vice are indigenous. Nottingham is, we believe, a respectable sort of place in the knitting and hosiery way; but why should Nottingham elections be worse than any other elections? That the fact is so there is little doubt. It requires but a slight effort of memory to note down, even from the time when Nottingham Castle was sacked in the famous old Reform days, the scenes of riot and turbulence which Nottingham has witnessed. The elder Mr. Walter's elections are still remembered as pleasant times when a good hand-to-hand fight was conducted by professional bruisers, hired by rival candidates, who day after day for weeks displayed a common savagery not only against each other, but against everybody else. Feargus O'Connor's turbulent representation of this riotous town was symbolical of its general character. The election in which Mr. Samuel Morley gained the seat only to lose it was not a very

edifying exhibition. Neither Mr. Bernal Osborne, who has also represented this remarkable constituency, nor the late Sir Robert Clifton, did much to retrieve its grotesque and altogether unique public character. The election which has just taken place is quite worthy to rank with its many predecessors. The odd thing is that so many very extravagant and out of the way candidates gravitate by some sort of strange law to Nottingham. Feargus O'Connor, Mr. Osborne, Sir Robert Clifton, Mr. Handel Cossam, Lord Amberley—this is a curious succession of notables; and the series has just been completed by Mr. Digby Seymour, who has barely missed the seat. Mr. Digby Seymour's connexion with Nottingham is of the queerest. The late Sir Robert Clifton was not a very ordinary man. He was, as his biographical eulogist in a Nottingham paper informs us, descended from some *dapifer* or seneschal of the Conqueror; but the merits which recommended him to Nottingham were that he was odd, and considerably out at elbows. Horses, the Turf harpies, and losses at the rate of a thousand pounds a night, so we are told, ending in expatriation, endeared their late member to the roughs of Nottingham. They elected him once and again, and so great was his popularity that it appears that, by a sort of nuncupative will, he bequeathed the representation of Nottingham to his friend Mr. Digby Seymour. So Mr. Seymour and Lady Clifton give us to understand. Mr. Digby Seymour issued his address—we use his own words—from this "House of Mourning," namely Clifton, on the day after Sir Robert Clifton's funeral; a proceeding nearly as comic as Mr. Macaulay's address to the Edinburgh electors from Windsor Castle. The other candidate—Mr. George Potter, after the manner of the typical working-man's candidate, having collapsed—was Mr. Seely, a well-known Liberal, and bearing a name of terror in Admiralty circles. The issue was between ordinary Liberalism in the person of Mr. Seely, and Cliftonism in the person of Mr. Digby Seymour. The late Sir Robert Clifton was a Liberal of his own fashion—an independent Liberal—and returned chiefly by the votes of the electors added to the constituency by Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill. Sir Robert Clifton voted against the Irish Church Bill, and Mr. Digby Seymour stood in his shoes. His confession of political faith consisted in one single solid article. "My views," he says, "on the great questions of the day are, for the most part, the same as those of the late Sir Robert Clifton." The Elisha was worthy of the Elijah. The election in any other place than Nottingham would be described as a disgraceful riot. Bands of notorious "lambas" paraded the streets; vehicles decked with party colours and filled with roughs paraded the streets; and the excitement was so great, as the report delicately expresses it, that it was found necessary to parade and arm the pensioners. Mr. Seely's committee-room was riddled, the Riot Act read, and charges with fixed bayonets on the mob was the order of the day. The polling was curious. Mr. Seely took the lead, but in the course of the day many Conservatives, though reluctantly, voted for Mr. Digby Seymour, and he was only defeated by a majority of a little more than a hundred. Out of a constituency of 14,000, however, only about 9,000 votes were given.

We do not much believe in what are called typical elections. Elections, even at very critical moments, turn mostly on local and personal considerations. We do not consider the recent Stafford election to prove the reaction of which we hear so much and see so little; neither do we say that this Nottingham election—which has ended, however dubiously, by the defeat of a candidate who was pledged, if to anything, to resist the Government measure on the Irish Church—shows that the Nottingham electors disapproved of their late member's opposition to it. What we have to say is, that for a constitutional candidate, or, indeed, for any other candidate, Mr. Digby Seymour is a very odd representative of anything but himself. We are not much surprised to be assured by reports from Nottingham that, "except on the Irish Church question, Seymour was not to the liking of the Conservatives, and that they came up very tardily to the poll." The surprising and notable thing is, that any 4,525 human beings should be capable either of such liking, or of such smothering of dislike, as to vote for Mr. Digby Seymour under any circumstances. We say nothing of Mr. Digby Seymour's personal acquaintance with the late Sir Robert Clifton, or of the extremely peculiar taste which induced him to attend his friend's funeral, and to write an elegy on him in the Nottingham papers chiefly as sharp hits of canvassing; but what surprises us is the short memories of these 4,525 electors, and the fact that undoubtedly Mr. Seymour was the popular candidate. The new Constitution, if it has favoured the country with many constituencies in which Mr. Digby Seymour, or the like of Mr. Digby Seymour, if he can have a like, could be all but returned as their representative in Parliament, may be a matter of happy retrospect to Mr. Disraeli, especially as Sir Robert Clifton used to dine with him, and as Mr. Digby Seymour would have entered Parliament as one of his supporters; but it gives rise to serious misgivings to those who are not constitutionalists and opponents of the Irish Church Bill.

For, again, we ask whether we have all forgotten all about this Mr. Digby Seymour? In June, 1859, Mr. Digby Seymour was member for Southampton, having been returned by the Conservatives, to whom he had pledged himself not to vote against the Derby Government on the question of No Confidence. On the first night of the debate he spoke in support of Ministers; on the division he voted against them. The *Morning Herald* of the day accounted for this curious incident by connecting it with some

"promise of places and offers of rewards" on the part of the Liberals, by which—so the *Morning Herald* suggested—Mr. Digby Seymour had been swayed. Whereupon Mr. Digby Seymour applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a criminal information against the *Morning Herald*, which application was refused. Nor is this all that we are obliged to remember about Mr. Digby Seymour. In December, 1862, was tried an action for libel, *Digby Seymour v. Butterworth*, contained in the *Law Magazine* of May, 1862. Mr. Digby Seymour, it appears, had informed the Southampton electors that he had been made Recorder of Newcastle on account of his professional eminence. Whereupon, in a tremendous article, the *Law Magazine* commented on Mr. Digby Seymour's professional and political career, and openly alleged that Mr. Seymour received the Recordership as a reward for deserting the Conservatives, and that, as to his professional eminence, "he had, in fact, been censured, and almost disbarred, by the Benchers of the Middle Temple for unprofessional conduct in his relations with attorneys." We adopt the severe historical tone, and quote from that admirable remembrancer of forgotten things, Mr. Irving's *Annals of our Time*. The *Law Review* took the severe, but not the historical, tone, and disported itself with a contrast. Mr. Seymour, having alleged that he was persecuted on circuit because he was an Irishman, the *Law Magazine* drew a parallel between "the Irish gentleman" and "the Irish blackguard, swaggering, foul-mouthed and shameless; the most insolent of upstarts, the most unblushing of swindlers; never destitute of a quarrel, never at a loss for a lie"; and went on to say something about a "power of impudence" and a "fertility in fraud which defy all description." For this extremely provoking and alliterative libel Mr. Digby Seymour got a verdict with the moderate damages of 40s., and triumphantly proved that the *Law Magazine* had a very vigorous and very reckless and indiscreet writer. But what remained as the residuum of this trial, *Seymour v. Butterworth*, was that Mr. Seymour got two pounds out of Mr. Butterworth; that the charge about the Recordership of Newcastle was neither proved nor disproved, because it was incapable of proof, and that, as to the fact about Mr. Digby Seymour and the Benchers of the Middle Temple, why it was a fact; and, as Chief Justice Cockburn remarked, the writer in the *Law Magazine* "added nothing to the facts brought before the Benchers, added no facts of his own, and was not responsible for the facts, and that it was difficult to see how the facts could have been more fairly brought before the public." The facts being that the Benchers found it to be their "painful duty to state that they found much calling for severe condemnation, even on the most favourable consideration of Mr. Seymour's actions," and they lamented, to say the very least of it, that, in a certain matter, Mr. Seymour's conduct had a "tendency to introduce into, or maintain in the practice of, their profession, men more distinguished by the pliancy of their principles than by the gifts of nature, improved by an industrious and honest pursuit of eminence by honourable means."

Now what we said nearly seven years ago (*Saturday Review*, December 2, 1862), we here repeat. This is the judgment which the Masters of the Bench passed upon Mr. Digby Seymour. Mr. Digby Seymour published a pamphlet complaining of this judgment; but he did not proceed by action for libel against the Benchers. That judgment stands. What was true or false six years and a-half ago is true or false now. The *Law Magazine* was fined very properly for very improper language; and certainly it was never proved that Mr. Seymour ever entered into a directly corrupt bargain with any Government for his vote. But we have not heard that the Benchers have withdrawn their censure on Mr. Seymour; and with these historical facts before us we are not so much surprised that Mr. Seymour was not returned for Nottingham, as that 4,525 electors, including, we suppose, many sincere and honest defenders of constitutional principles and true religion, voted for him.

"RUSTICUS" AND THE TIMES ON CANONRIES.

THE subject of the Cathedral Chapters, at which we have been working, off and on, for a good while past, has been lately taken up in the *Times* in a letter and a leading article which seem to call for some notice. The letter, which appeared on Monday under the signature of "Rusticus," is decidedly above the common level of such productions. It betrays imperfect knowledge of the general subject, but it shows shrewdness of observation, and an apparently intimate knowledge of the facts of some particular case. The writer seems to be familiar with the affairs of some diocese—such as Winchester or Peterborough—where the Chapter is of the New Foundation, and where the Canonries are in the gift of the Bishop. This appears from his assuming the Bishop as the necessary patron. He says, what is certainly true, "that in proportion as Canonries are diminished in number the probability increases of their being ill-bestowed. Most Bishops," he continues, "have one friend, one relative to be provided for; after him, they will judge by merit; but in the event now contemplated they will seldom reach a second." This doubtless expresses a general law, but we conceive that it is not peculiar to Bishops, but that it extends to Prime Ministers, Lord Chancellors, and disposers of patronage of every kind. We might, indeed, strengthen the argument of "Rusticus" by describing at least one New-Foundation Chapter where the Bishop did not, as "Rusticus" charitably supposes he would, begin to look out for merit even on the second

vacancy; where, save one stall, whose occupant obstinately refused to die, every place came into the Bishop's gift, and where every place was disposed of among the Bishop's near kinsfolk, till men said that, if the Bishop should hold a capitial visitation, he would be like to none so much as to the Patriarch Lot when he spake unto his sons-in-law which married his daughters. But the fact that "Rusticus" thinks only of Bishops, and not of patrons of other classes, shows that he cannot have examined the subject in all its bearings. The change, too, which he proposes is one which would not have occurred to a stupid or careless man, but only to one who had been carefully watching some one or more particular cases. But it is not a change which would have occurred to a man who had studied the whole subject; at any rate it would not have occurred to him as a novelty. Whatever there is of good in it would at once suggest itself to any one who had studied the history and constitution of the Old-Foundation churches.

"Rusticus" very properly throws aside the notion of "parochializing Canonries." "To speak of parochializing Canonries is a contradiction in terms. If they have any speciality, to parochialize is to destroy them." This is thoroughly true and to the purpose, but we cannot agree with "Rusticus" when, after setting forth his own scheme, which we shall presently discuss, he goes on to say:—

I believe that it is thus, rather than in the somewhat Utopian conception of cathedral communities of profound thinkers and learned writers, that our canonical establishments may find their practical scope and use. To fix the home of a philosopher or a theologian amid the thousand distractions, important or trifling, of a cathedral city, is to throw before him every impediment to the calm pursuit of his calling. To secure the appointment of such men to such offices, while the prize is lucrative and the dispenser human, has been found by long experience practically impossible.

It is no doubt Utopian to expect that this scheme, or that any other scheme, would ever be carried out in its full perfection. But it is not Utopian to set up a high ideal and to try to come as near to it in practice as human weakness allows. No scheme of appointment will ever fill all our stalls with "philosophers and theologians." But if it be recognised that philosophers and theologians are the right persons to appoint, more philosophers and theologians will be appointed than if people are allowed to think that one appointment is as good as another. But this is what people practically do think. When appointments to Cathedral offices are discussed, one appointment is said to be good and another to be bad. But an appointment is hardly ever said to be good or bad with reference to the peculiar duties of the peculiar office. The appointment is said to be good when the person appointed is thought to have deserved a reward by service of some other kind. It is said to be bad when the person appointed is not thought to have any such claim to special reward. This way of looking at the matter silently implies that, as far as the office itself is concerned, one man, provided he be not in any way scandalous, is as good as another. And so people will think so long as a Canonry is looked on as a mere means of rewarding a deserving parochial clergyman or school-inspector. If it be once understood that Canonries are offices requiring special qualifications, that they ought to be filled by men of special thought, learning, or eloquence, if we do not actually attain our ideal, we shall at least come nearer to it. The appointments of conscientious patrons will be better, those of unconscientious patrons will not be so bad. One objection brought by "Rusticus" we really do not understand. Why is a Cathedral city so specially ill-suited as he thinks to be the home of a philosopher or a theologian? Even a philosopher or a theologian must live somewhere, and he will be a lucky man if he can find a home anywhere wholly free from "distractions, important or trifling." But we really do not see why these distractions should be more rife in a Cathedral close than in other places. At all events, we should think that they would be much less rife than in the case of an ordinary parochial cure. There are men in the Church to whom comparative leisure would be a gain both for their own sake and for that of others. There are offices in the Church which offer that comparative leisure. Truly the men and the offices are meant for one another. We do not believe that either Bishops or Prime Ministers or Lord Chancellors will always appoint absolutely the best man to each particular vacancy. But we do believe that, if it be understood that a particular sort of men are the right sort of men to appoint, the average of appointments will become much better than it has been hitherto.

The scheme of "Rusticus" he describes as "that of a considerable increase in the number of the Canons, and a consequent diminution of the separate emoluments." He would in fact abolish Residentiary Canons, as we understand Residentiary Canons, altogether, and would give each church a Dean with a body of non-resident Canons. But let him speak for himself:—

At present the number of residentiaries in an ordinary Cathedral is four, and the income of each varies from 500*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year. Let us suppose the given Cathedral to have an aggregate income for its residentiaries of 2,400*l.* I would contemplate the establishment, in such a case, of 12 co-ordinate Canons, each with his 200*l.* a year, and each with a single month of statutable residence. . . . The Dean will be the officer in permanent charge of the arrangements of the services, except in so far as the assembled Chapter may resolve and order.

The advantages of the change would be many. The strength of the Cathedral establishment would be sensibly increased by its being brought into a more intimate connexion with the popular working clergy of the Church. The Cathedral town would profit by the periodical presence and preaching of some of the chief parochial ministers of the diocese. The Canons themselves would, in many cases, regard their month of residence as the most marked and interesting portion of their year, varying their home life, enlarging the sphere of their influence, yet making no serious breach in

the continuity of their parish duties. The united body would form a Diocesan Council of no slight weight and value, exercising the Cathedral patronage with a wider knowledge and a more disinterested judgment, bringing a powerful influence to bear upon works of local or national usefulness, and, on the whole, carrying a perceptible increase of energy into the operations of the Church at large.

When we read this, we cannot help thinking of the philologist whom we reviewed a week or two back, who invented a great part of Grimm's Law for himself, in seeming ignorance that anybody had found it out before him. In like manner "Rusticus" seems never to have heard of the Non-residential Canons of the Old Foundations; but he grasps very well and sets forth very well, as if it were quite a new idea of his own, most of the reasons which have always made us wish both to see the Non-residential Canons of the Old Foundations restored to their proper position, and to see the anomalous Honorary Canons of the New Foundations raised to something like the same position. The Non-residential Canons are commonly the pick of the clergy of the diocese, and their discharge of their duties on preaching turns and similar occasions, their restoration to their votes in Chapter on all occasions, would bring about exactly the results which "Rusticus" wishes for, and which we wish for also. And we think, with "Rusticus," that the men who discharge these duties should not be wholly unpaid. We should not at all grudge them the 200*l.* a year which "Rusticus" proposes for them, if it is to be had; but we should have thought that a smaller sum would cover the expense of their occasional appearances at the Cathedral. And this is really all that is wanted; in the actual residence of a month proposed by "Rusticus" we see no advantage at all, and alongside of the Non-residentialies we should retain the Residential stalls as the proper provision for a certain class of men in the Church.

From the letter of "Rusticus" it is amusing to turn to the leading article with which his letter is followed up. "Rusticus," though his knowledge of his subject is imperfect, shows real observation and real good sense. The writer of the leader writes, as might be expected, in the big bow-wow style of utter ignorance:—

Some years ago, the cathedral stalls were cut down to a paucity quite out of character with the evident idea of our cathedrals, and reducing their magnificent choirs to a "beggarly account of empty boxes." The Church protested vigorously, and actually did succeed in preserving the condemned Stalls, which still exist in a disembodied, or, as it is called, honorary form. How that works it is really hard to say; but we suspect the ordinary British parent would rather have one son a real Canon than ten invested with the title, and right to preach once a year. Judging from the history and the popular tastes of our Church, its Bishops should be few, its Canons and Prebendaries many, but yet substantial characters.

Nothing is plainer than that the writer of this kind of talk knows nothing of the difference between Old and New Foundations, between Residentiales and Non-residentiales, between a Prebendary of Lincoln and an Honorary Canon of Peterborough. The allusion to the "ordinary British parent" is a master-stroke in this kind of writing. It at once supplies the funny element so necessary in every discussion, and no doubt the reference to "substantial characters" at the end serves the same purpose, though its immediate purpose is not quite so clear. The "disembodied form" in which alone the writer seems to think that stalls still exist might be thought to be a misprint for "disendowed," only the word "disembodied" no doubt contains a hidden reference to the old phrase of a Prebendary's *corps*, which certainly has a somewhat startling effect when you hear a living man say, "My *corps* (pronounced *corpse*) lies in such and such a place." But the *Times*, we all know, is above misprints, and as there is (or was) doubtless some good reason, though we cannot see it, for writing "diocesa" for "diocese"—an eccentricity, by the way, which the *Times* seems latterly to have abandoned—so there is doubtless some good reason, though we cannot see it, for changing "Prebendaries" into "Prebendaries." The only thing that we can think of is the likeness of the form to "Stipendiaries," and if we are to take this as a sign that the *Times* is ready to accept our small scheme of re-endowment, we of course thankfully accept so mighty a helper.

A COUNTESS ON MANNERS.

THE chief point of interest about Manuals of Manners is the presumptive evidence which they afford of the existence of sane persons willing to invest in them. There is something touching in the thought of large classes of the community, morbidly conscious of their many awkwardnesses and anxious to amend them, longing to do things in the right way if they only knew how, and sanguine enough to believe that the secret of good breeding is to be found in a book. One pictures them waiting with wistful eyes for the avatar of some apostle of gentility, to come and enlighten their dark minds with his words of wisdom. And no teacher of authority gives any sign. The oracles of fashion are dumb. The great masters of deportment are mute. There is Lord Chesterfield, to be sure; but Lord Chesterfield is impractical. He has left nothing on record about such thorny points as the graceful way of mounting a carriage, or the disposition of the hat and cane during a morning call. There is no Sir Charles Grandison in the flesh to explain the combination of stateliness and ease with which these little things should be done. Why was Beau Brummell so uncommunicative, or that more historical personage Beau Brummell's valet? Or why, oh, why! did not the First Gentleman of Europe himself condescend to bequeath a code of manners as a precious legacy to generations of English-

men yet unborn? His matchless command of etiquette has perished with his multitudinous waistcoats; and posterity is left nervously twirling its hat, and awkwardly tumbling into its carriage, without any authoritative guidance in those important details. Worse still, it has been left at the mercy of any charlatan who chooses to vend sixpennyworth of manners, and whose false and unauthorized teaching may betray the unwary into a course of horrible solecisms.

But at last a better day has dawned. In the fulness of time, moved by pity for the mannerless masses, a Countess has broken silence. From the point of view of one "moving in the best circles," she unfolds to "the *crème de la crème*," as well as to "the great body of the middle-class public and that immense substratum of lower-middle class which interposes between the middle and working classes," the things necessary to deportment. Doubtless the grateful middle-classes would have liked to know the name of their benefactress. They will regret the modest asterisks in which it has been temporarily obscured. This excess of modesty is the more to be regretted because the profane and irreverent student of her work might be tempted to suspect, from internal evidence, that our Countess hailed from America. With a contemptuous glance at the incompetent quacks who have preceded her in the literary field, our noble instructress proceeds to redeem her pledge of providing her readers with a faithful and judicious guide in every "social emergency." Nothing can be more comprehensive than the scheme of her work. It includes everything from morning calls to marriage. Cards, dress, conversation, the ball, the promenade, courtship and engagement, all these points are not merely touched on, but for the most part fairly exhausted; and as if this were not enough, a crop of minor "social emergencies" is disposed of in a supplementary chapter of "Hints to Both Sexes." But when one comes to study the Countess's code in detail, one is struck by its general resemblance to those other unauthorized codes compiled by "incompetent" and "tasteless" persons, which its avowed object is to supersede. There is the same odd mixture of self-evident propositions, and sphinx-like utterances. Platitude alternates with enigma. If there are many things in it which will command universal assent, there are others of which few people have dreamed in their social philosophy. There is an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine to be enunciated. Take, for instance, the chapter on "Cards." Here is a caution which strikes us as decidedly superfluous. "Young unmarried ladies living with their parents do not require separate cards." Surely no middle-class parent, however benighted, would ever suppose they did. On the other hand, here is something very recondite. "The possessor of two residences should have one address engraved in the left corner, and one in the right." In our simplicity, we should have thought such an arrangement rather ostentatious, and savouring just a little of the "*parenu*" whom our Countess regards with just horror. Besides, what if a person owns, like his Grace of Buccleuch, some dozen residences? Are these all to be inscribed on his visiting card? And would not the effect, however imposing, be, to say the least, slightly bewildering? Another dark saying follows: "Honourables do not affix their titles to their cards." No title under Sir or Lady should be taken by the bearer. Who are "honourables," and what are the "titles" which they are to abstain from announcing to their acquaintance? And how, if she extinguishes herself altogether, is a plain Mrs. to make her existence known to society? Here is a direction which we regard as a graceful concession, on the part of our Countess, to the customs of the middle-classes: "We inform our friends and acquaintance of the death of any member of our family by a card. These cards should simply state the name, age, birthplace, residence, and place of interment." The Dissenting grocer will be pleased to discover that his homely practice obtains in the lofty circles in which Countesses "move." The ceremonial of "a morning call" is defined in this work with great precision. It should be paid, says our Countess, "between the hours of three and five P.M. A gentleman caller is to discriminate carefully between his umbrella and his hat. The former is always 'to be left in the hall.' The hat becomes the subject of a separate treatment. It is never to be laid on a table, pianoforte, or any article of furniture. It must be disposed of in one of two ways; either held in the hand, or deposited on the floor. Here is a precept which displays amusing *naïveté*:—"Never take favourite dogs into a drawing-room, when you make a morning call. . . . Being of too friendly a disposition, they may take the liberty of lying on a lady's gown. Besides, your friend may have a favourite cat already established before the fire, and in that case a battle may ensue." This picture of a morning call, ending in a terrific combat between two antipathetic pets, is a brilliant stroke of imagination, while the care shown in providing against so exceedingly remote a social emergency is a proof of the exhaustive character of her work.

Then she has something to say about Conversation. Perhaps the rules she lays down for its conduct, however, are a trifle too elementary to be of much practical use. One is not much the wiser, for instance, for being told that a perfect knowledge of English is indispensable, or that loud laughter is objectionable, or that a half-open mouth is a sign of ill-breeding, or that the proper thing is to look, but never to stare, at the person you are addressing. It is more worth knowing that the best accent is taught at Eton and Oxford. We had no idea that any particular accent was insisted on in these ancient seats of learning. Perhaps a Professor of Accent has been recently added to the academic staff, and a Pronouncing Master included among

the latest "extras" at Eton. Despite the purity of their accent, Eton and Oxford are responsible, we fear, for a good deal of that "detestable slang" upon which our Countess animadvert. Certain phrases which she condemns as vulgarisms, such as "awfully hot," and "immensely jolly," have been heard before now from the lips of Eton boys and Christ Church undergraduates. Among other rules for "conversation," here is one which is at all events easy to follow:—"Do not be always witty." The difficulty which most people find is to be witty at all. The tone of the following directions for letter-writing is rudimentary:—"Never omit your name from any letter, whether of business or friendship. . . . I's should be dotted and t's crossed. . . . The stamp should be placed in the right hand corner of the envelope." A slanting stamp "evinces rudeness"—a nicety of which we were not sufficiently aware. Here is a canon the dark significance of which we are totally unable to fathom:—"An unmarried lady cannot address a gentleman as my dear sir, unless she is very old, and he too." Is there any lurking impropriety in the use of the possessive pronoun? If, indeed, it implies a proprietary interest in the gentleman to whom it is addressed, we understand the objection; and by waiving the rule in favour of septuagenarians, we suppose the Countess means to say that old gentlemen are so little worth having that they need no protection from etiquette. We are glad to perceive from her observations on "the toilette," that our Countess warmly approves of "tubbing." Ladies are enjoined to abstain from the onion, as "the forbidden fruit of the Eve of the nineteenth century"; and gentlemen are charged to keep their teeth and nails "scrupulously clean." Here is a more recondite suggestion as to jewellery. Opals, it seems, connote refinement. "No merely vulgar woman purchases an opal." The importance which the Countess attaches to dress is shown by her putting the tailor on the same footing as to profits as the Church. No man should spend more than "a tenth of his income on dress." Is this proposition to apply to a millionaire? Because a wardrobe must be "varied" indeed to represent an annual expenditure of 100,000*l.* "The Promenade" is the natural corollary of the toilette. Here is an instruction which reads like a direction to an acrobat or circus-rider, preparatory to his "great bare-backed act," or some other feat of gymnastics. The Countess is supposing the "social emergency" of an invitation to enter a carriage:—

If there is but one step, and you are going to take your seat facing the horses, put your left foot on the step, and enter the carriage with the right in such a manner as to drop at once into your seat. If you are about to sit with your back to the horses, reverse the process. As you step into the carriage, be careful to keep your back towards the seat you are about to occupy, so as to avoid the awkwardness of turning when once in.

Nothing can exceed the mechanical precision of this; but, then, everything would be deranged by the simple accident of the carriage having two steps instead of one. In this case one would enter with the wrong leg, and as likely as not be betrayed into that unseemly pique which our Countess condemns with so much severity. The following rules demand less dexterity:—"Never call across a street," "In shaking hands, do not put out the hand till you are quite close to the person you are about to salute," "Nothing is more awkward," our authoress truly observes, "than to walk several yards with an extended hand."

The Countess's canons for evening parties are sound and orthodox. "General salutations of the company," she tells us, "are now wholly disused." Caution is suggested in singing comic songs. As a warning, the Countess mentions that she was once at a party given expressly in honour of "a lady of colour," and heard a "thoughtless amateur" dash into the "broadly comic" nigger melody of "Sally come up," which covered every one with confusion. If a "Parsee prince" is present, it is "unbecoming to follow him about and listen to every word he utters." You may be wrongly announced. In this case, "make your way at once to the mistress of the house, and introduce yourself by name"; but the butler's blunder is to be repaired "with simplicity, and your rank made as little of as possible." "No one should accept an invitation to a ball if he does not dance." There is good sense in this, and in the interest of the many young ladies who habitually line the walls of fashionable ball-rooms we wish the injunction were more generally acted upon. There is probably less need for the following caution:—"All casino habits are to be avoided in a private ball-room. It is an affront to a highly-bred lady to hold her hand on your hip." It is to be hoped that the "aristocratic young men" whom the Countess has seen committing this enormity are not very numerous. Some of her hints to ball-givers are very valuable. Here is a thoughtful suggestion:—"Great inconvenience is often experienced through the difficulty of procuring cabs at the end of a ball. Unless more men-servants than one are kept, it is better to engage a policeman, with a lantern, to attend on the pavement during the evening, and to give notice in the course of the day at a neighbouring cab-stand." But is there not here some confusion between the function of the linkman and that of the police? If it is a general practice of ball-giving ladies to appropriate the policeman on the beat for their own private convenience, no wonder we hear a good deal about the insecurity of the streets. We commend the point to the notice of Colonel Henderson. In her remarks on dinner-parties, our Countess is careful, as usual, to adapt her instruction to babes in etiquette. "Peas," she tells us, "are eaten with the fork." "The knife is never to be carried to the mouth." "Hot soups and puddings are not to be tasted till they are sufficiently cool." By disregard-

ing this caution, "you may be compelled to swallow what is dangerously hot, or driven to the unpardonable alternative of returning it to your plate." There is one "social emergency," and one alone, in which our Countess fairly admits her inability to prescribe a rule. Courtship, she observes, is a crisis when to act by rule is impossible. So she wisely contents herself with passing on to the order of toasts to be given at the wedding-breakfast, and an exposition of the philosophy of "no cards."

But this admission is fatal, we fear, to the pretensions of her "Complete Manual"; because, if courtship is a great "crisis," taking a seat in a carriage full of ladies is a small "crisis," and it is as difficult for any but an automaton to act by rule in one case as in the other. In all "social emergencies," great or small, the difficulty is first to get a rule which will exactly apply, and next to possess the presence of mind to act upon it. A man who would regulate his social deportment by the precedents in a book of etiquette, is like a man trying to govern his moral conduct by a pocket-treatise on Casuistry. The cases specified never quite tally with the cases as they actually arise. However ingeniously they be multiplied, a wide margin must still be left for the exercise of that "feeling and good sense" on which our Countess falls back in the last resort. In other words, good manners resolve themselves in a great measure into tact, and tact, unhappily, is a faculty not to be transmitted by book. An aid to a knowledge of "the thousand and one social observances" of modern fashionable life is not to be despised nevertheless; and we cordially wish our anonymous Countess success in her attempt to "level up" the manners of the masses to the standard of "the best circles." Only is it quite clear that "the best circles" are so very well mannered? Is it not a well-ascertained psychological fact that ill-breeding may be as congenital in a duchess as in a milkmaid?

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

VI.

PICTURES of life and of manners, known in France under the somewhat absurd designation of *genre*, form in our own Academy, as indeed in all Exhibitions whether at home or abroad, the most numerous class. And what strikes the observer as a little strange is that painters of this sort, whose name is legion, have in all countries attained to pretty much the same proficiency. Possibly it may not require any very distinguished ability to do justice to an old woman scraping a carrot or scouring a kettle, and thus in this humble sphere of art all the world is found on an equality. Yet we would not scoff at a school which in the past has numbered Wilkie, Leslie, and Hogarth, and at the present moment counts Faed, Webster, Hardy, and Horsley. An art, however, thus restricted in sphere is apt to repeat itself in thought and treatment, just as the ordinary events in daily life, from the cradle to the death-bed, fall into dull routine and hackneyed incident. Thus Mr. Thomas Faed, R.A., has so oft struck the chords of the domestic affections, has taken us so many times—and perhaps scarcely once too frequently—into the cottar's home of honest poverty, that, as in the songs of Burns and the tales of Crabbe, we know the refrain by heart. The painter, however, in his principal picture this year finds a new idea and a fresh model. "Only Herself" (119) is an old woman, who at the moment we write may probably be seated on a doorstep in Kensington; her face, which is well known to passers-by, has been worn by time and care into rugged masses eminently picturesque. Mr. Faed substitutes for the High Street a rustic stile and a hedgerow as the background to his picture; and he completes the composition by throwing in a couple of children painted to perfection. The pathos of the picture is simple and true; a praise, however, which it is impossible to extend to a sentimental street-sweeper, besom in hand, said to be "Homeless" (73). The catalogue informs us that "God tempers the wind to the lamb that is shorn." A short poem, apostrophising a street besom, seems all that can be needed to move spectators to tears as they gaze on this somewhat mawkish picture. The Academician's brother, Mr. John Faed, has never produced a better work than "John Anderson my Joe" (824). Wilkie could scarcely have hoped that his influence for good would have survived so long even in his native land. And yet curious visitors who crowd before this popular picture persist in praising most highly the teapot and tea-cups on the table—such is the fame that awaits the artist who appeals to the eye and not to the imagination. Yet the painter who in this day aims at realism seldom fails of reward. It may be worthy of note how opposed is the manipulation which Mr. Thomas and Mr. John Faed severally bring to bear on like scenes of humble naturalism. The handling of the elder brother is broad, the colours are broken, the textures sometimes rough. Mr. John Faed affects just the opposite qualities. Smooth, clean painting pleases ordinary people; a vigorous touch is the delight of artists. Genre painters, as we have said, are plentiful, for no less than three bearing the name of Hardy are here present, and a fourth is absent only because he has been driven to the select Exhibition reserved for the rejected. Mr. F. D. Hardy, as usual, comes out the strongest of the lot; indeed, "Baby's Breakfast" (484) would not be unworthy of M. Edouard Frère. It is long, too, since Mr. G. Smith has exhibited so good a picture as "A Game of Speculation" (54). A Fairy Tale (464), by Miss Starr, is perhaps the best picture by a female artist. The two Messrs. Burr, brothers, again after an interval of full four years gain a place on the line. These Scotchmen seem intent on

emulating the bad example of their predecessor Sir David Wilkie; in other words, we behold them in the act of transit from low to high art; yet, unfortunately, what in their pictures they may deem low is high, while what would fain be high turns out low. "The Escape of Queen Henrietta" (854), by Mr. G. H. Burr, and "The Intercepted Letter" (875), by Mr. J. Burr, are tainted by melodrama; the style is a medley. In art, as in higher matters, it is impossible to serve two masters; it is hard to reconcile pictorial life in a cottage with the ways of rank or fashion.

Rustic subjects seek new developments. As soon as the arts in Europe became secularized, the whole life of man, and the entire world of nature, were thrown freely open to the painter; the carpenter's shop became scarcely less attractive when St. Joseph withdrew from it, and the landscape did not lose its beauty because the Three Kings were left out. Picturesque peasants now take the place of Holy Families, and some of the most popular of pictures are simple compositions of figures with landscape. Among the artists who thus succeed the best are Mr. Mason, Mr. Walker, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Brennan, and Mr. Boughton. "A Wayside Cross, Brittany" (765), by Mr. Boughton, lies, as it were, on the boundary line between sacred and secular styles, and pleasingly combines figure incidents with landscape surroundings. There is quietude, pathos, devotion, in this rustic gathering round the wayside cross; the picture, indeed, in sentiment is not unlike the works of M. Breton; the colours are broken into sober tertiaries, the greens pass tenderly into greys. Mr. Brennan, like Mr. Boughton, owes much to foreign schools; his two contributions, "Preaching in the Coliseum" (832), and "Il Tamburino" (783), are noteworthy studies of texture, quality of colour, and just relation between high sunshine, half-shade, and full shadow. In these last eminently artistic qualities our painters are taking lessons from the French. Among the styles which now shadow forth the future of our English school, that affected by Mr. Armstrong in "Hay-time" (375) is the most obnoxious to old-established prejudices. Where on earth do such long and lanky ladies live in undisturbed contemplation of inner consciousness, rejoicing in a bodily presence ungainly, even ugly? These figures appear in size out of all proportion to any good they seem likely to effect in the realms either of nature or of art. The composition is defiant of established rules; the colour may be accepted as not an unpleasant mixture of chalk and water mildly flavoured. But Mr. Armstrong has sufficient talent to attract attention; his picture, if not quite to be admired, may be wondered at; the artist is possibly but passing through a limbo of strange vision ere he reach the sanity of nature.

Three pictures, holding prominent positions in one room—"Aurora in Romagna, Peasants from the Mountains on their way to Rome" (461), by Mr. W. Linnell, "The Old Gate" (485), by Mr. F. Walker, and "Girls Dancing" (438), by Mr. G. Mason—seem to point to that poetic union between nature and the life of man which artists both in France and England are now intent upon making impressive. The pictorial method consists in bringing figures and landscape into mutual response and reciprocity of sentiment, so that there shall subsist a oneness in colour, light, shade, and expression. This treatment may be accepted as a reversion to the grand Italian manner. The old painters sought to ennoble landscape by human interest; thus Salvator Rosa, in a grand woodland scene, introduced the Baptism of St. John, and in well-known pictures in our National Gallery, Poussin pressed into his service Dido and Æneas, while Claude brought to the shores of a seaport the Queen of Sheba. Our English painters, living in plain, naturalistic days, scarcely permit themselves like flights of imagination. Yet Mr. W. Linnell loses little by painting what his eyes have seen in Romagna; the actual is often stronger than the ideal; here noble figures march solemnly amid woodlands glowing under the warm twilight of the Campagna. The execution is disappointing on close examination; the idea makes the picture. Three Linnells—the father and two sons—are present in the Academy. This contribution by Mr. W. Linnell is alone up to the standard of former years. Mr. Walker combines, in a way peculiar to himself, plebeian forms with poetic sentiments. "The Old Gate" (485) is scarcely a success. The figures are scattered too far asunder, the centre of the picture is a void, the pigments are unpleasantly loaded and opaque, and a prevailing red in the colour may leave the impression that nature was originally made out of brickdust. But the work, of course, has redeeming merits; there are shadowy, quiet passages, delicious in harmony; the pencilling of the trees, too, against the clear sky is delicate and true; and the figures, as in the picture of "Vagrants" a year ago, stand in grand immobility; humanity thus, when least adorned, is noblest. The picture has power of colour, and a refulgence of light tempered by shade. Another romance in thought as in colour is Mr. Mason's lovely composition, "Girls Dancing" (438). The idea is akin to classic times and the land of Italy. A young shepherd, Pan-like, is seated with lute in the cleft of a tree, and before him maidens dance gracefully with arms upraised and castanets in hand. Beyond, as from many a headland round Amalfi or Castellamare, stretches the blue Mediterranean. This pastoral or idyl has music in it; there is a dying cadence in the colour, a plaintive melody in the sentiment. Yet Mr. Mason disappoints the expectations raised by the "Evening Hymn" of last year; indeed, several of his contributions to this Academy are woefully slight and sketchy—little more, in fact, than mere rubbings in, left in vague suggestion. The artist's manner will, it may be feared, shortly settle into irredeemable mannerism.

Landscape art becomes many-sided; styles are multiplying in variety; schools are growing distinctive and pronounced. At one time there was a danger that so-called Pre-Raffaellism would swallow up the whole of nature, but having accomplished its revolutionary mission, artists are now left in freedom, according to individual talent, to do the best they can with outward creation. Yet there always will remain two distinctive, if not opposing schools, the one of small detail, the other of largeness and of breadth; the one literal, blindly loving, doting on simple foreground flowers, the other imaginative, far-seeing, embracing in one wide circuit plain, mountain, and sky. It is scarcely needful that we should stop to criticize styles which never change even over a period of ten or a dozen years. Little new can be said of the works of Mr. Creswick, Mr. Lee, Mr. Sydney Cooper, Mr. Ansdell, or even of Mr. John Linnell. We turn to younger men—Mr. Vicat Cole, Mr. Leader, Mr. Peter Graham, Mr. MacWhirter, Mr. Raven, and others. Mr. Raven we remember as Pre-Raffaellite, and in proof of the good schooling he got from that creed may be taken a woodland scene (268), with water below, and slumbering reflections, and chasing sunshine and shadow among the silent hills. The artist's handling is still a little hard, yet this thorough student work has intelligent purpose. Mr. Vicat Cole and Mr. Leader, we believe, are still supposed to stand in that foremost rank whence possibly the Academy may make its next elections. Of course the contributions of these artists are at least equal to the ordinary run of Academic landscapes, yet perhaps of late men less known have advanced more. Still "An English Riverside Cottage" (63), by Mr. Leader, is solid, considerate in form and effect, thoroughly mature and deliberate. In passing, we would call attention to a work singular for mastery and originality of manner, "The City and Fortress of Lerida, Spain" (248), by Mr. Anthony. Mr. Vicat Cole exhibits a scene dramatically wrought, "A Pause in the Storm at Sunset" (412). Perhaps the artist is almost too confident of his ends, and not over careful in the use of his means; the foreground is rather slight and hasty, and the sky somewhat coarse in the laying on of colour. Still the conception is fine; there is fire in the sky and shadow upon the earth, and light and colour play into, break, and modulate the slumbrous shade. There is a warm blush even in the coolest recess. The successive distances lead off into space till the hill-top is reached where the sun has sunk into rest. "The Great Pyramid" (888), as painted by Mr. Dillon, is also poetic; it is not easy to bring so much colour and sunlight into tone and relative keeping. The brothers Danby, sons of the great Danby of "The Deluge" and "The Opening of the Sixth Seal," have naturally the poet's inheritance. But they seldom perpetrate anything more terrible than a sunset or a sunrise; "North Shields, Sunrise" (842), by Mr. J. Danby, is supreme for high-wrought harmonies. Mr. Brett has been so badly served in the Academy that he seeks refuge among the rejected in "the Select Supplemental Exhibition." There it is worth while to go to see "Evening off the Menai Straits," which was the best work the "Supplemental" found to hang. This picture is one of the most subtle and lovely studies of cloud strata and of opalescent sea we remember to have seen; Vanderveldt is comparatively without atmosphere or colour. Altogether, this is the most accurate study of sky and cloud brought this year for exhibition; some four species of clouds, such as cirrus, stratus, cumulus, and nimbus, may be distinguished in relative aerial perspective with correspondent tones and colours. For surface-texture, and for balanced relation of iridescent colour under light, this picture has scarcely been surpassed either in ancient or modern times. Also remarkable is that tender poetic study of complex sky, "Looking Eastward at Sunset" (369), by Mr. Hering. Perhaps Mr. Cooke, R.A., is rather violent in contrasts "On the Lagoon of Venice; Evening before Bad Weather" (885); the passages in quiet half tone have most value. Altogether the Academy gives evidence that our artists look more into the sky than formerly; atmospheric phenomena, thanks in some measure to the progress of science and to the observations of meteorologists, are better understood and delineated with more truth of detail by modern painters than by the old masters. There are studies both by Mr. Davis and by Mr. Henry Moore which indicate an eye ever watchful over the fleeting aspects of earth and sky; what is hard and motionless in the permanent articulation or anatomy of landscape receives, as the features of the human countenance under passing emotion, intelligent expression, when the wind moves among the trees, or sunshine glances brightly across valley or moorland.

Landscapes more than usually noble in motive and comprehensive in wide imaginative sweep we owe to Mr. Peter Graham, Mr. MacWhirter, Mr. MacCallum, Mr. Bierstadt, and Mr. Hook. "On the way to the Cattle Tryst" (76) is the best justification yet given by Mr. Graham of the high expectations raised by "The Spate in the Highlands." Grand are the mountains in shadowy gloom, bold the rocky summits mingling with mists. Mr. MacWhirter—another Scotchman whose mind seems burdened with dark visions of black mountain solitudes the cradle of wild storms—has an impressive picture, "Loch Coruisk, Isle of Skye" (23). There is an echo of the wild wail of Ossian in this northern landscape art; the serrated outline of these mountain masses cutting sharply against the clear sky is savage. Such pictures support the theory that terror is the element of the sublime. We have hinted at the comparisons which may be instituted between the divers treatments of sky and cloud; not less interesting are the thoughts suggested by the varied

management of mountains; indeed, the pictures here exhibited are illustrative of truths in physical geography, such as structure of the earth's crust, influence of climate, character of vegetation, &c. From this point of view, there is a marked opposition between northern Scotch landscape as painted by Mr. Graham and Mr. MacWhirter, and that scenic and sunny panorama, "Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains, California" (309), by Mr. Bierstadt. The former is, to borrow a favourite alliteration from Mr. Ruskin, grand in mountain gloom, the latter in mountain glory. Equally opposed too are divers national styles in manipulation and technical quality. Mr. Bierstadt has naturally acquired the mechanical touch and somewhat too vivid contrast of colour which signalize the school of Düsseldorf. Reverting to Scotchmen, we find almost a disdain for detail; their handling is as negligent as the scenery they paint is rude. Mr. MacCallum has studied so much abroad that his style is less national than cosmopolitan; thus that forcible and brilliant transcript of "The Black Wood of Rannoch, Perthshire" (276), recalls at first glance the large scenic manner of M. Gustave Doré. Lastly, never to be forgotten is the delight which Mr. Hook has given by that fresh and breezy scene from ocean, "Caught by the Tide" (332). The children cling to the rugged rocks tremblingly, as the rising waves swell to the shore. The tide has onward movement; the artist, with a free hand and wholly unconventional manner, has given to the ocean its transparent depth, its translucent colour of blended grey, blue, and green. On the whole, we have never seen landscape-painters in greater strength or variety, partly because our essentially national art now for the first time receives fair treatment. These and other benefits we owe to the handsome and ample building in which the Academy is at length happily housed. We close our review of this year's Exhibition with bright hopes for the future.

RACING AT ASCOT.

THOUGH the Wednesday in the Ascot week is considered somewhat in the light of an "off" day, it was relieved on this occasion from anything like insipidity, not only by some real good racing and some real good riding, but also by a continuance of startling surprises similar to those which created so much excitement the day before. In the first place, Lord Falmouth's candidate for the Derby of 1870, Kingcraft, came out with an immense reputation, and having been tried vastly superior to Gertrude, the winner of the Queen's Stand Plate on the preceding day, was regarded as an absolute certainty for the Seventeenth Triennial; for he was only opposed by Mahonia and Claudius, and Gertrude beat Mahonia out of sight in the race referred to. Yet now, in Fordham's hands, Baron Rothschild's filly always had the best of Kingcraft, and as he could not quite get up at the finish he suffered defeat by a head. Another instance this of the incomprehensible in-and-out running of Baron Rothschild's horses to which we have frequently drawn attention. Both Mahonia and Kingcraft are by King Tom, and the defeat of the latter, who is one of the finest looking two-year-olds that have been seen this season, is excusable on account of his not having been as yet thoroughly trained. He will show to much greater advantage at a later period of the year. Immediately after this upset came another, for which we can offer no possible explanation. Martyrdom, Ryshworth, Alpenstock, Scottish Queen, Lord Hawthorn, and brother to Ravioli, met at even weights in the Eleventh Biennial over the Old Mile. After Martyrdom's easy victory over Pero Gomez the day before, it seemed impossible that he could be beaten by any of this lot; but beaten he was, and easily too, by both Alpenstock and Ryshworth, the victory of the former so totally upsetting all public form as to make it hopeless to attempt a satisfactory estimate of the relative merits of the three-year-olds, which will, we fancy, cause much trouble and bewilderment to handicappers. Even the Ascot Derby, in which Pero Gomez had only to beat Consul, Good Hope, and Scottish Queen, was no bloodless victory for Sir Joseph Hawley's horse, who ran in difficulties all the way up the straight, and only won by sheer gameness. After the race he appeared so very shaky on his legs that it is no certainty that he will be able to stand a preparation for the St. Leger, unless, indeed, complete rest does wonders for him. The Fernhill Stakes, for two and three year-olds, at weight for age, fell to Frivolity, who beat a good field of winners, Pâté, Perfume, Atlantis, Bosworth, and Vagabond—Verdure alone of the seven being a maiden. Taking into account the great performances of Perfume over half-mile courses, and the good form recently shown by Atlantis and Pâté, the easy victory of Frivolity—by four or five lengths—stamps her as quite the flying filly of the year. There were twenty-two runners for the Royal Hunt Cup, one of the prettiest races of the meeting, and why Plaudit was handicapped to give Hermit 4 lbs. we are unable to understand. However, it did not much matter, for neither of them had a chance, and it was melancholy to see three horses—Hermit, Plaudit, and Suffolk—whose names were once on every one's lips, finishing, under fair racing weights, the last three in a mile race. The issue was left to the two four-year-olds, See-Saw and Cock of the Walk, who were well handicapped at a difference of 21 lbs. Blue Gown gave Cock of the Walk 29 lbs. last autumn and beat him, and again See-Saw, in receipt of 12 lbs., beat Blue Gown in the Cambridgeshire, so that on these data the difference between See-Saw and Cock of the Walk could be pretty accurately esti-

mated. It was a fine race between these two, and Fordham, whose horsemanship was never shown to better advantage than last week, just landed Lord Wilton's horse the winner by a neck, after a most brilliant finish. See-Saw, about the most mercilessly abused two-year-old, except The Earl, of modern times, has somehow survived the treatment to which he was subjected by his then owner, has carried off as a three-year-old such valuable prizes as the October Handicap and the Cambridgeshire, and has now begun his four-year-old career by winning the Royal Hunt Cup. We need not give the names of all that were behind the leading pair. Border Knight looked formidable opposite the Stand, but refusing to struggle at the finish was only a moderate third; Argyle, much talked of, was not at all conspicuous; and the bulk of the field were widely scattered. It is a specialty of the Royal Hunt Cup that the favourites nearly always finish in front, and a good many of the outsiders only run for the exercise, and in the hope of finding favour in the eyes of handicappers on future occasions. The Coronation Stakes wound up the day, and Martinique had no difficulty in securing this rich stake from four moderate opponents, though she fell lame immediately after the race. The ground, in fact, was rather hard going than otherwise, and the horses' legs suffered considerably during the week.

The Cup day is, of course, the great day of the week, and was, no doubt, duly enjoyed by all those who love to stare or be stared at. The Royal party drove up the course in the usual manner, and with the usual attendants; but Lord Cork's showily-actioned horse, which he handled with considerable skill, pleased us more than anything else in the procession. The Windsor carriages are anything but elegant, and some of the appointments, notably the saddles, boots, and stirrup-leathers of the postilions, and portions of the harness, proved convincingly that the responsible official in the department of the Master of the Horse took things easily. A show like this depends for its success as a whole on the exact accuracy of all its parts; but unfortunately the effect of State and official celebrations in England is increasingly marred by the dowdiness of the details. The ladies—or their dresses—commanded the undisguised admiration of the populace, but the gentlemen of the party did not appear to be adequately appreciated, if we may judge from the remark of a worthy yeoman which we happened to overhear. As the fair occupants of the Royal Stand accepted, one by one, the arms of their escorts to the luncheon-room, this estimable person expressed his astonishment, not unmixed with displeasure, that they should allow the servants to hand them out in that familiar manner. The racing was good enough for a day when not one person out of ten even looks at the horses, and it commenced with another Ascot surprise. Duke of Beaufort, fourth in the Derby after being nearly knocked down at Tattenham Corner, had only to beat Tasman, Strathuairn, and Dunbar, and could not accomplish it; the last-named, who is half-brother to See-Saw, but has never hitherto shown more than plating form, making all the running, and winning in a canter. Then Pandore, the celebrated Caller Ou's first foal, beat Badsworth, and Typhon beat Antietam, better known as brother to Chattanooga, though, had the latter been able to get through at the distance, the result might have been different. After this came the Cup. There were only five runners out of the seventeen entered, but they were a very select quintet. They were Formosa, winner of the Oaks and the St. Leger last year, Brigantine, winner of the Oaks this year, Blue Gown, a winner of the English, and Trocadero, a winner of the French Derby, and Thorwaldsen, winner of the Gold Vase. Blue Gown looked far the fittest of the five, being full of muscle, and in fine condition, albeit he has not grown much since last year. Formosa was much admired in the paddock, but we missed that brilliant burnish on her coat which was her characteristic last year. Instead of shining like polished metal now, it looked dull and faded. Brigantine looked light and thin, and pleased but few, and Thorwaldsen we did not see. The competitors were paraded as usual in the Royal enclosure, but as Thorwaldsen could not behave decently, he was removed elsewhere, not, however, before he had nearly killed a policeman. Trocadero made the running at a wretched pace for a mile and a half, and Brigantine made a waiting race of it till within half a mile of home. The result was a well-contested match between her and Blue Gown, and both ran with great gameness; but the weight was all in favour of the three-year-old, and she won cleverly by a length. Thorwaldsen ran most ungenerously throughout, and lost ground at every turn, yet he was only a neck behind Blue Gown, and the winner would have had work to beat him from the Ditch in at Newmarket. Formosa was never dangerous at any point in the race, and Trocadero was eased, with a view to his engagement in the Alexandra Plate. Blue Gown by no means disgraced himself, for Sir Joseph Hawley is reported to have said, after the Oaks, that Brigantine would have won the Derby had she been in it, and Blue Gown fairly stretched her neck. It is a pity that she is not in the St. Leger, for she would have an excellent chance of rivalling the triumph of her half-sister, Formosa. The New Stakes, the principal two-year-old event of the meeting, came next, but though there were fourteen runners, they were mostly of the second-class, and Sunshine must have beaten them all had she started. The colt by Thormanby out of Blue Bell, who won on the Tuesday, was considered the best public performer, but he carried 5 lbs. extra, as also did Roquefort and Moonstone, while Atlantis carried 9 lbs. extra. Yet Lord Falmouth's filly only lost the race by a head from Temple, who, it will be remembered, was third to Sunshine and

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Green Riband at Epsom. Remembering how easily Mr. Merry's filly won the Woodcote Stakes at the finish, we are not inclined to attribute much importance to this performance. Moonstone never showed in the race, but we think nothing of that, and it would have been all the better for him if he had not been brought out at all before the autumn.

Of Friday's racing we need not say much. Five started for the Alexandra Plate—Restitution, Trocadéro, Romping Girl, Blueskin, and Tabouret. Not a very grand field for a valuable prize, but Restitution, from his make, was the best adapted of them to carry 10 st., and he won cleverly from Trocadéro, who occupied a similar position last year. As times go and as horses go, it is a mistake to give a thousand pounds for horses carrying 10 st. and upwards over three miles, and it is more clear every year that the race is a failure, and had better be abandoned, and the money otherwise expended. Duke of Beaufort did just manage to beat Standard Bearer for the last race of the meeting; but if that is his best, it is bad indeed, and the truth appears to be that the three-year-olds this year are wretchedly mediocre. The other runner for the Sixteenth Triennial was Westminster, who broke down during the race. It is curious that all three were bred and nominated by the Duke of Beaufort.

On the last day of the Ascot week the first sale of the Middle Park yearlings took place at Eltham. Mr. Blenkiron must have had much anxiety as to the results of his sale this year, on account of the depreciation in blood stock, owing to the glut in the market and the ruin and retirement of so many racing men. He was doubtless agreeably surprised at getting rid of fifty-two out of fifty-five youngsters for 12,640 guineas, or an average of 243 guineas each. This leaves a very handsome profit to the breeder, to which he is well entitled for his enterprise and judgment. That the days of high prices are not altogether gone was proved by the fact that a half-sister to See-Saw fetched 1,800 guineas, and a colt by Newminster out of Battaglia 1,000 guineas. It was generally considered that a better-looking lot of yearlings was never turned out, even from this celebrated nursery of thoroughbreds, and the young Gladiateurs, the first of his progeny, attracted in particular great attention. It is curious that while the Buccaneers are winning so many of our great races, his stock in Austria are selling for a mere song. At the recent sale of the Imperial yearlings a son and a daughter of Buccaneer went for 65 and 37 guineas respectively, and the highest price given for one of his get was 220 guineas. Yet this was from no deficiency of money, for a colt by Bois Roussel fetched 440 guineas, and a few days previously a colt by Blair Athol was sold for 500 guineas. It would be curious to know why, when our breeders would give any money to get Buccaneer back again to England, the Austrians themselves seem to care little or nothing about him as a sire.

REVIEWS.

THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN.

THE first fruits of Mr. Mill's retirement from Parliament are to be found in the essay whose title we quote, which will be studied by his more ardent followers with enthusiasm, and by all his readers with interest. It displays in a high degree many of the qualities for which he is distinguished—the power of logical arrangement, the capacity for compressing into a few pages the essence of a long train of thought, and a fulness and weightiness of style, giving dignity to many reflections which in other writers might appear to be commonplace. It shows in an equal degree a quality for which inattentive readers would not, until lately, have given him credit—an almost passionate enthusiasm in the cause which he advocates. People who knew Mr. Mill only from his *Logic* or his *Political Economy* generally failed to recognise the hints, which might be occasionally detected even in those writings, of a certain fervour of temperament which we do not expect to find in a philosophical speculator. Everybody has now had the opportunity of observing it in his political career. The zeal with which he attacked Governor Eyre, and proposed a revolutionary scheme of Irish reform, must have convinced those who disagreed with him that the last fault with which he could be plausibly taxed was that of a cold-blooded indifference to human interests. It is only fair to say that no man is more ready to denounce in the most generous spirit anything which in his opinion savours of injustice, and to throw himself, regardless of consequences, against every kind of social or political tyranny. He may be very wrong in his opinions, but at least his faults are due to an exaggerated generosity; they are not the faults of a mean or cynical nature, but of one which forgets even logic in its hatred of oppression. If any new proof was wanting of this tendency, he has given it in his present essay. Many men in talking of women's rights show, not merely a dislike to the eccentricities of their advocates, but a certain jealousy of the claim of equality of those whom they hold to be inferior beings. They admit with reluctance any proofs of feminine intellect, and manage to make their compliments as insulting as their abuse. From this fault at least Mr. Mill is as free as it is possible for a man to be. He seems at times to be anxious to establish rather the superiority than the equality of those whom he describes as our "slaves"; and we

may therefore assume that women have found in him an advocate whose zeal is equal to his ability, great as that undoubtedly is, and have consequently the very best face put upon their pretensions.

Mr. Mill is not one of those writers whose argument can be compressed into a sentence or two. It would of course be easy to sum up in a few phrases a compendious account of his opinions and to supply an equally compendious refutation. In fact, however, we must admit that his essay fails chiefly on the side of insufficiently developing his theory; and it will therefore be fairer, without affecting to compress once more what is already so closely packed, to indicate as shortly as we can the general nature of his argument and to point out the omissions which, in our opinion, take away some of its force. The essay, then, is divided into four chapters. The first is intended to rebut the general presumption against the truth of his theories; the second points out what are the particular social arrangements of which he complains; the third is designed to prove the capacity of women for profiting by the proposed changes; and the final chapter is an answer to the question, what definite good results are to be anticipated? The purpose of the whole essay is summed up in the first page, where the author announces his intention of explaining the grounds of an opinion which he has held with constantly increasing strength of conviction:—

That the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other.

The first chapter, after dwelling on the difficulties of attacking a position resting on so many prejudices and associations that the burden of proof is thrown upon the advocate, instead of the assailant, of an equality which in all other cases would have a general presumption in its favour, proceeds to argue that experience is really in his favour. Not only, he argues, has there never been an experiment of any other than the existing system, but such inferences as we can draw from history are in favour of a change. In all other cases, there has been a gradual transition from compulsory to voluntary arrangements. In old times society was founded, to an extent which we can scarcely realize, upon the law of superior strength. Nobody, except philosophers or saints, saw anything wrong in the principle. By very slow degrees slavery was gradually abolished, though within the last forty years Englishmen might buy and sell human beings, and within the century might kidnap them, carry them off, and work them to death. Women, however, are still slaves by law; and if in some respects better off than ordinary slaves, in others their position is even worse. The dependence of women on men is, in short, a relic of barbarous times; it has "not lost the taint of its brutal origin"; and, standing alone amongst modern ideas on all others but this most important point, it is as though "a gigantic dolmen occupied the site of St. Paul's and received daily worship, whilst the surrounding Christian churches were only resorted to on fasts and festivals." The argument that the distinction rests upon a difference in the nature of men and women is, it is urged, irrelevant, because the nature of women is the artificial product of this very subjection. It is a parallel to the argument that, because a cottier deeply in arrears to his landlord is not industrious, therefore the Irish are "naturally" idle. As a matter of fact we know little philosophically as to the nature of women, and few men know much about more than one side of the nature of one or two women. If, however, they are disqualified by nature from any employments, we may trust to free competition to find it out. We do not make laws to provide that only strong-armed men shall be blacksmiths; we leave it to the weak-armed men to find out by experience that they can do better elsewhere.

The presumption against equality of the sexes being thus rebutted, what are the evils due to a neglect of the principle? The most prominent evil, according to Mr. Mill, is the state of the marriage-law. A husband has absolute rights over the person and property of his wife. "She can do no act whatever but by his permission, at least tacit. She can acquire no property but for him; the instant it becomes hers, even if by inheritance, it becomes *ipso facto* his." The system of settlements only evades this partly, and only in the case of the richer classes. The husband alone has legal rights over the children. And from this state the woman has no power of withdrawing herself. Mr. Mill remarks that the consideration of the propriety of divorce is foreign to his purpose; but that, if the present system is permitted to continue, the only alleviation possible would be to allow a woman to change her master; and that alleviation is forbidden. Of course many, indeed most, men do not push their rights to extremes; and women have a resource in what Mr. Mill calls "the power of the scold, or the shrewish sanction"; but, as it is, a tyranny exists the results of which, besides great misery to individuals, are summed up in the phrase that "the family is the school of despotism, in which the virtues of despotism, but also its vices, are largely nourished." There is of course no difficulty in showing, by the ordinary reasoning, that arbitrary power causes many evils, even if in a majority of cases it is moderately exercised, and, in many, exercised with all possible wisdom and benevolence. The argument, however, to which Mr. Mill is chiefly concerned to reply is the obvious one that when two people ride a horse, one must sit behind. When two people are intimately connected, one must have the deciding voice. In answer to this, he says that voluntary partnerships do not necessarily imply that one partner is to have

* *The Subjection of Women.* By John Stuart Mill. London: Longmans & Co. 1869.

the entire control; although such a principle would be less dangerous in cases where the union may be dissolved at will. He admits that men will, as a rule, take the largest share in supporting the family, and will so far have the more potential voice; but he thinks that these matters may be left to voluntary arrangement in each case; and that, as in practice some sort of compromise is amicably affected, except in unfavourable cases, the law might correspond to the facts. Matters, he says, are not improved by making the husband a despot whose concessions may be recalled at pleasure and without warning. Meanwhile the effect of the present law, even where no advantage is taken of it, is, he contends, to encourage the husband to hug himself in the consciousness of his power, and the more decidedly in proportion to his unfitness for its exercise.

The third chapter, after shortly noticing the claims of women to the suffrage, deals chiefly with the question of the supposed inferiority of the feminine intellect. It is a curious consideration, says Mr. Mill in one of those skilful turns of argument for which he has so great a talent, "that the only things which the existing law excludes women from doing are the things which they have proved that they are able to do." There is no law, that is to say, against women writing poems or composing music, but there is a law forbidding them to take part in politics. Now Mr. Mill regards it as certain that women are able to govern, and, in some respects, peculiarly well qualified for government. To prove this, he refers to such cases as Queen Elizabeth and Margaret of Austria, and he denounces the argument, or the "bad joke," that women govern better than men, because under women men govern, and under men women. We cannot enter into so wide a question, but there is something to be said for Turgot's form of the remark, that no woman ever chose a woman for her Prime Minister. Queen Elizabeth is a commonplace instance, but students of history may doubt whether the glory of her reign would properly fall to her or to such Ministers as Cecil and Walsingham. To this Mr. Mill replies, that women at least have a capacity for selecting the best Ministers; and he goes into a long argument, showing that the various feminine qualities—intuitive perception, quickness of apprehension, versatility, and so forth—eminently fit women for government. To say the truth, this strikes us as one of the weakest parts of his book, for the very reason which he has explained elsewhere, that we possess as yet no philosophical analysis of the distinctive character of the sexes. It is easy by an *a priori* method to prove that any talent whatever is likely to be useful in government; and Mr. Mill omits the one quality which is after all the most essential, and in which women are supposed, at least, to be inferior. The governor must, above all things, be able to govern—that is to say, he must be strong; and no special pleading will evade the importance of this quality. It does not, of course, follow that women should be entirely excluded from all departments of public business. Turning to other talents, Mr. Mill labours to prove that, although no woman has hitherto attained the first rank in any intellectual or scientific department, the opportunities of women have hitherto been so small that we have no right to expect such a result. The want of feminine musical composers, which is the chief difficulty of his case, is accounted for by pointing to the difference between amateurs and professionals, and the want of any thorough training of women in the higher branches of the art, especially in Germany and Italy—the only two countries that have produced great composers. Further, he remarks upon the time spent by women on frivolous pursuits, saying that whatever a woman does is done at odd times, and on the degree in which love of fame is discouraged as positively unfeminine. This whole chapter, though able, is of necessity occupied with a rather hypothetical argument, and betrays an eagerness to make the most of every point which detracts from Mr. Mill's usual appearance of candour.

The final chapter is, we think, more eloquent and less open to dispute than the remainder of the book. Its purpose is to insist upon the advantages to be anticipated from the elevation of women to an equality with men; the doubling of the mass of available faculties; the removal of a sense of injustice; the improvement in the tone of public opinion, so far as it depends upon women; the more intelligent direction of charity; the encouragement to wives to aid their husband's aspirations, instead of bringing him into bondage to Mrs. Grundy; the improvement of the happiness of married life when men and women can regard each other as equals, and mutually assist in each other's labours. These and other topics of a similar character are insisted upon shortly but forcibly, with Mr. Mill's usual skill in investing threadbare subjects with a certain interest and novelty. All we need say is, that most of the proposed benefits would result from an improvement of the feminine intellect rather than from an alteration in the legal position of women.

We have thus followed Mr. Mill through an argument which, as will be seen, with a vast variety of subjects, in some of which no one can do more than make a probable conjecture. Up to a certain point most people would sympathize with him; but it may be that he would be very little thankful for their going nine miles in his company unless they are prepared to proceed for the tenth. Thus it is difficult to put too strongly the importance of raising in every way the standard of the feminine intelligence, and of enabling women to choose lives full of great interests, instead of a hopeless round of frivolity. We may admit, too, that women, when their cultivation approaches the masculine standard, may develop talents not at present suspected, and even that they may share or appro-

priate to themselves some fields of labour from which they are now excluded. Indeed, if one circumstance were altered, Mr. Mill's whole argument would be not merely powerful, but absolutely conclusive. If women were simply men in a different dress, only distinguished by certain peculiarities of temperament and by varieties of physical constitution, the present restrictions would be utterly indefensible. By all means, we should say, throw down all barriers, remove all invidious privileges, and leave free competition to distribute the functions of life indifferently. But women are not men, and that undeniable truth reminds us that Mr. Mill has neglected one fact, which, to say the least, has a considerable bearing upon marriage laws. He has discussed marriage with scarcely any reference to its effect upon sexual morality. He has therefore neglected to answer the strongest argument that can be brought against him. We may grant that it is desirable that women should have the widest possible scope for the faculties they possess; it is to be hoped that those faculties may turn out to be as great as Mr. Mill can possibly suppose; but it is also important, in an equal degree, that the standard of feminine purity should not be lowered. There is, it may be, much unfairness in the present state of our social arrangements, but at least they secure this important point, that women as a rule are far more moral in some respects than men of the same class. The family, says Mr. Mill, is the school of despotism; but it is also the school of certain virtues of modesty and purity which are of the highest importance to the interests of mankind. A Mahomedan, it might be replied, would urge the same argument in favour of the complete seclusion of women; he would be wrong, we admit, in enforcing extravagant precautions, but it does not follow that no precautions are necessary against one of the most powerful of human instincts. Conservatives may be extreme in their opposition to all relaxation of discipline; but they are not only excusable, but are amply justified, in looking with great carefulness at any tampering with existing laws. It might be the height of folly to admit Eastern women at once to the freedom of intercourse which we can safely indulge in European countries; and the fact upon which Mr. Mill insists so forcibly, that the feminine nature is so much the product of artificial regulations, may suggest the serious danger of acting rashly in altering them suddenly. Mr. Mill, for example, guards himself against pronouncing upon the propriety of divorce "in the sense involving the liberty of re-marriage." He would, however, apparently allow an indefinite facility of separation—which, indeed, follows almost logically from his premises. Complete equality of rights would be meaningless unless the partners could separate on any hopeless divergence of opinion. In the American States, whose example is quoted in favour of the separation of property, the power of divorce has been generally carried to an extreme; and, if not a necessary, it is at least a highly probable, consequence of the proposed principle. It is therefore strictly relevant to inquire what are the probable results of a system which, at first sight at least, is highly prejudicial to sexual morality. Not only may it be fairly maintained that an unlimited power of divorce is likely to be demoralizing, but it would also appear to be in many ways conducive to tyranny. Mr. Mill takes no notice of the circumstance which materially mitigates the "slavery" of women. If the wife is the slave of her husband, he is at least bound to have only one slave. This implies a certain reciprocity of no little importance. The husband gives up a right the use of which would generally tell to his advantage. When two people live together on such intimate terms, it will be a general result, not of positive law, but of the nature of the case, that one will be chiefly dependent on the other; and in most cases the ruler would, for obvious reasons, be the strongest and the best able to shift for himself. If the husband could dismiss his wife at pleasure, or make her so uncomfortable as to be forced into assenting to separation, a new weapon of oppression would be put into his hands. The woman is, and is likely to remain, as Mr. Mill admits, far more dependent than the man on her family and household life; if the man could break it up at his pleasure, he would have a mode of coercion which probably would be even more efficient in many cases than those which the law now puts into his hand. The indissolubility of the marriage tie, except under certain defined circumstances, acts as a protection to the weaker partner in the concern, and Mr. Mill's theories obviously tend to weaken this bond, though it may be doubtful to what extent he would go. We do not state this as a conclusive answer to all Mr. Mill's complaints, some of which, indeed, appear to have a very sound foundation; but it is a view of the case which he cannot avoid simply by refusing to pronounce upon the question of divorce.

The same omission tells also against the argument for the free admission of women to professions. Admitting in the fullest way that women might admirably discharge many functions from which they are at present excluded, it does not follow that a breaking down of all existing limitations would of necessity cure more evils than it would cause. That women should be mingled with men in all the employments of life may be desirable if we look at it merely from the point of view of the utilization of all existing talents. But the moral question is also one of supreme importance, and it is that upon which the simple principles of free trade and open competition fail to throw any light. The weak-armed, as he truly says, will not be blacksmiths, even if the forges are left open to everybody to enter; women will, on the same principle, only take to those trades where they can make money; but it does not follow that they will avoid trades which are demoralizing, though not unprofitable. As a fact, we have been compelled to ex-

clude them by legislation from duties by which they could earn money to the prejudice of the public morality; and there is no presumption in favour of leaving such questions merely to the play of the market. If women are to be doctors, lawyers, and preachers, according to their tastes, it may probably be necessary to enforce regulations against certain obvious dangers as much as in the case of mines or field-labour. If women are now hot-house plants, as Mr. Mill says, we must be very cautious how we suddenly plant them in the open air. It is the general indifference of the advocates of women's rights to these obvious considerations which tends as much as anything else to prejudice sensible people against them, and we can only regret that Mr. Mill's book, though full of eloquence, of generous feeling, and in many places of views which appear to be sound as well as striking, should be exposed to the same objection. We do not know, as he says, very much about the nature of women as it might be manifested under a system of absolute equality; but we do know this, that men and women differ very profoundly, and that the relation between the sexes is one with which it is exceedingly dangerous to play tricks without much consideration and a careful feeling of the way.

THE DATE OF PSEUDO-ENOCH.*

ALTHOUGH we have described the apocryphal Book of Enoch at tolerable length (*Saturday Review*, May 8), we should scarcely have exhausted the subject did we not say something of the opinions that have been promulgated concerning its origin. According to the declaration of the Book itself, it was written by the mysteriously translated Enoch, father of Methuselah, and great-grandfather of Noah; and a belief that such was actually the case was deemed at least reasonable by no less a person than Tertullian, although he admits that it was not received by some (*a quibusdam*—a mild expression, which may be held to signify the Church in general), nor even admitted into the Jewish canon. In fact, he thinks its rejection has been somewhat hasty, being merely grounded on the hypothesis that a work written before the Flood must necessarily have perished in the general destruction. Those who argue in this way, he maintains, ought to bear in mind that Noah was the descendant of Enoch, and had no doubt heard of the admirable qualities and exceptional privileges of his great-grand-sire among the most creditable traditions of the family. We read, too, in the Book itself, that Enoch wrote at least a portion of it for his son Methuselah, and for those who might come after him and keep the law in the last days. The passages showing this, it should be remarked, are not to be found in the fragments preserved by Syncellus, and therefore furnish a link in the chain of evidence which tends to prove that an Ethiopian text corresponds to the book possessed by the early Christians. Since one of the objects of Enoch in enunciating his wisdom to Methuselah was to diffuse it among posterity, there is nothing absurd in the supposition that Noah took the place of his progenitor as an instructor in divine knowledge; and even if the written book was destroyed by the Deluge, he might have retained the contents in his mind. An analogous case is presented in the annals of the Jews. When Jerusalem was taken by the Babylonians, a general demolition ensued; but nevertheless the sacred writings survived the calamity. Considering all this, and likewise bearing in mind that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," we may conclude that a book so wholesome, and withal having in its favour the testimony of Saint Jude, ought not to be lightly esteemed, especially by Christians, though Jews may find a pretext for disregarding it, on account of the Christian tendency of some of its revelations. So reasons Tertullian in his treatise *De Cultu Fœminarum*; but, as Dr. Laurence observes, his arguments "will not for a moment preponderate in the rigid balance of modern criticism." Indeed, the references that are made by Enoch to the "Ancient of Days" and the "Son of Man," far from rendering plausible a belief that the book was written before the Flood, tend to show that it is more recent than the Book of Daniel. On this point all critics seem to be agreed. Enoch must, by common consent, be turned into Pseudo-Enoch, and the question left open to controversy is respecting the interval that elapsed between the appearance of Daniel and that of his obvious follower.

The common stand-point being settled, it is of course assumed that the allegorical history of the Jews, contained in what Dr. Dillmann considers to be the fourth part of the Book, though ostensibly prefiguring the future, really records the past, and that Pseudo-Enoch could not have written till all the really historical events recorded had taken place, though of course it is to be conceded that he looks to a coming day when he talks of the Kingdom of the Messiah. Now the herdsmen set over the sheep, intended to represent the people of Israel, are 70 in number, and these seem afterwards to be divided into groups of 36, 23, and 12. The slight discrepancy between the items and the sum total—which is increased if, with Dr. Laurence, we read 37 instead of 36—is the least material difficulty that presents itself, for, if it comes to the worst, we may set down 70 as a round number, not intended to be too accurate. But who were the historical personages whom the 70 shepherds represent? This is the important query, and every one who recollects the extreme complexity in which the history of the East became involved

when the successors of Alexander ruled over Syria and Egypt will at once perceive that it is not to be answered in a moment. Indeed we cannot imagine a prettier amusement for a gentleman of studious habits, who is blessed with a rainy holiday, than to lay open before him the *Book of Enoch* and the *Antiquities of Josephus*, and to endeavour to establish such a harmony between vision and fact as shall at once satisfy the requisites of historical criticism and of Cocker.

However, the point being settled that the 70 herdsmen preceded the appearance of Pseudo-Enoch, the query who they were is of considerable importance when viewed in reference to the date of that event. Dr. Laurence, to answer it, counts on his fingers the number of the kings who after the defection of Jeroboam reigned respectively, and satisfactorily makes up the number 37. True that, to arrive at this number, he avowedly omits Jehoaz, the son of Josiah, on the side of Judah, and Zimri, Zechariah, the successor of Jeroboam II., and Shallum, on the side of Israel; but then, as he explains, the first of these reigned only for seven days, the second only for six months, and the third for one, wherefore they may all be fairly struck out of the account, just as, when one takes an estimate of the state of one's banker's book, one disregards the pence. If you want to prove that the number of the wives of our eighth Henry is identical with that of the books of Moses, you naturally follow that monarch's example by getting rid of Anne of Cleves. Thus the 37 herdsmen are the Kings of Judah and Israel after Solomon, *Q.E.D.* But if this result is authoritatively satisfactory, it is less so when judged with reference to historical details. The herdsmen are all represented by Pseudo-Enoch as objects of the Divine wrath, and it would be rather odd, as Dr. Dillmann remarks, if they comprised the pious Kings Hezekiah and Josiah. The twenty-three herdsmen, according to Dr. Laurence, are successively the Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian monarchs, while the twelve who make up the seventy (more or less) are the subsequent Jewish princes, counted inclusively from Matthias, father of Judas Maccabeus, to Herod the Great. It was, therefore, under the reign of the last-named monarch that Pseudo-Enoch flourished; but he did not survive Herod, otherwise he would have seen the division of the kingdom into three parts, and would have necessarily increased the number of herdsmen. Therefore, also, the year 36 B.C., or thereabouts, is the date of his book, and it was about a century old when cited by Saint Jude.

Dr. Dillmann, partly for the reason already indicated, refuses to include among the herdsmen all the kings preceding the captivity, and thinks that the rule of the 70 shepherds, representing a foreign supremacy, begins with the reign of Jehoiaquin, the penultimate King of Judah, who sat on the throne as a Chaldean vassal. Referring to the prophecy of Daniel (c. 9), according to which 70 weeks are to elapse before the reign of the Messiah, and assuming that the 70 years appointed by Jeremiah (c. 25) are thus expanded into 490 (the week being a mystical expression for seven years), he finds one more expansion in the supposed prediction of Enoch, who transforms the years into so many reigns of heathen princes, which of course might be of long or short duration, and might even comprise contemporary oppressors, since it was notoriously the fate of the Jews frequently to suffer under more than one tyrant at the same time. The number 70 he thus decomposes, $12 + 23 + 23 + 12$, observing that the two mean and the two extreme figures are respectively equal to each other. The four terms are so many periods; the first is that of the Babylonian captivity, the second that of the government under the Persians, and the other two that of the Greeks (or Macedonians), the fourth being distinguished from the third as a time of more grievous oppression. The result of his calculation, which we cannot follow in detail, is to assign the date of the Book of Enoch to the time of Hyrcanus. Dr. Dillmann's choice in this respect is, however, confirmed by other than arithmetical considerations. Contemplating the general purport of the work, he considers that it is written with the view of calling back the Jews, whose religious principles had been greatly undermined by contact with the Gentiles, to a feeling for their old religion, and especially of reviving in them that hope in a coming Messiah which it is certain had been nearly extinguished. Nor, when we consider the compass of the book, and the amount of study and thought required for its composition, can we suppose that it was produced at a stormy period. While the first Maccabees were fighting with all their might and main, there was no time or opportunity for the composition of pious exhortations, especially when these were blended with astronomical instruction. But the period of comparative repose which followed the victories of the valiant brothers Judas and Simon—the period when the religion of Moses and patriotism had become identical, and the hopes of a Messiah were again revived—was eminently favourable to the production of the work, and such a period is represented in the person of Simon's son, Johannes Hyrcanus. There is a fact too which we have hitherto left unnoticed, and that is the mention in the Book of Enoch of the Parthians, who, according to both Dr. Dillmann and Dr. Ewald, were not well known in Palestine till the same Hyrcanus joined Antiochus Sidetes in the expedition against them mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 8). The assigned date of the Book of Enoch, in pursuance of this theory, is about 110 B.C.

Dr. Ferdinand Filippi, who, though he has written many theological works, has but recently appeared as a controversialist on the subject of Enoch, takes a view widely different from either of those that we have recorded, and the arguments with which he supports it display remarkable ingenuity and acuteness. To

* *Das Buch Henoch. Sein Zeitalter und sein Verhältniss zum Judenthume.* Von Dr. Ferdinand Filippi. Stuttgart: Liesching.

Ethiopian scholarship he makes no pretence, but he cites, as unquestionably accurate, the translation of Dr. Dillmann, while he is altogether opposed to him in the interpretation of the book. His treatise is also valuable as a summary record of the various opinions that have made their appearance on this debatable ground since Bruce's discovered treasure was made known to the world; for our readers must not suppose that the only division is that which separates Dr. Dillmann from Dr. Laurence. Dr. Ewald, with whom Dr. Dillmann agrees in many points, considers that the book was commenced somewhere about the year 144 B.C., and gradually increased in bulk through subsequent additions. Another contends that the allegorical history culminates, not in Johannes Hyrcanus, but in his son, Alexander Jannæus; while a third, Dr. Volkman, effecting a tremendous chronological leap, and assigning Pseudo-Enoch to the age of the Emperor Hadrian, declares that even the Messiah contemplated by the seer is no other than Bar-Cochba, who headed the Jewish revolt against the Romans towards the middle of the second century, and certainly assumed the sacred character.

Dr. Filippi, differing *toto calo* from Dr. Volkman in other respects, so far agrees with him that he looks upon the last twelve herdsmen, not as Greeks, but as Romans; and he attaches much importance to certain eagles which towards the end of the tale appear as tormentors of the chosen race, and do not seem previously to have received the attention they deserve. His own theory, in the main, is one that has probably suggested itself to those of our readers who have carefully read the passages from the second "parable" which are cited in our former article, and in which the character of the Messiah is described. The theory, in short, is this—that the Messiah contemplated by Pseudo-Enoch harmonizes too well with Christian ideas to be a result of purely Judaical thought; and that the author of the book was a Christian. The use of the expression "Son of Man" in Daniel (c. ix.) is too exceptional to have furnished a precedent for the frequent use of the same expression by Pseudo-Enoch as an epithet proper to the Messiah, and still more repugnant to the Jewish notions is the "Son of Woman."

A still more cogent argument in favour of Dr. Filippi's theory is afforded by a portion of the allegorical history to which we have not particularly referred. After 58 of the shepherds have passed away, and the rule of the last twelve (Greeks, according to Dr. Dillmann; Romans, according to Dr. Filippi) has begun, the white sheep give birth to lambs, which, amid the sufferings inflicted by birds of prey, piteously but vainly cry to their parents. The horns that spring from the heads of the lambs are plucked out by ravens, but presently one of them is distinguished by a large horn, and is at once surrounded by others whose eyes are then opened. The efforts of the ravens to pluck out this horn likewise prove futile. Shortly afterwards the Lord of the Sheep (the Deity) takes up the "staff of wrath," and the destruction of the hostile beasts ensues, the birds and beasts of prey, the 70 herdsmen, and the blinded sheep being all consigned to subterranean flames. The old house of the sheep is likewise demolished, and then a new house is built by the Lord of the Sheep, in which all the surviving birds and beasts of the earth, including the sheep whose wool is white, fall down and worship. When the eyes of all have been opened and the house is full, a white bull is born with large horns, and all the rest of the animals are changed into white bulls after his semblance, the chief of them being the Word. Out of the passage which we have thus abridged Dr. Filippi makes a very strong case against the Jewish origin of the book. During the rule of the Romans the lamb appears, and is acknowledged by those of the flock whose eyes are opened, being no other than the Saviour. Subsequently the old house—that is to say, the Temple and city of Jerusalem—is destroyed by the Romans, and in its place is erected a new house, which is the Church of Christ. The white bull is of course the Messiah, whether the book is interpreted in a Jewish or a Christian sense; but the acuteness of Dr. Filippi is shown by his hypothesis that the whole narrative embodies a belief in two advents—the lamb being the Redeemer in his humility, the white bull the Redeemer in his strength and glory as judge of the world. Now a second advent, he argues, is wholly inconsistent with the Jewish idea of the Messiah.

In the fifth part of the book the warnings of Enoch to posterity are accompanied by a very summary history of the world from the beginning, divided into seven periods called "weeks," in accordance with the expression used by Daniel. The first period is manifestly that during which Enoch was born, and which consequently preceded the unholy loves of the angels. The second period clearly comprises the wickedness terminating with the Deluge; the third and fourth are respectively those of the call of Abraham and the mission of Moses; the fifth is signalized by the building of Solomon's Temple; the sixth is that of the degeneracy that ensued after the division of the kingdom, and terminates with the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. Although the characteristics of these six "weeks" are indicated with the utmost brevity, they do not seem to have given rise to any serious controversy, and it is also agreed that the "seventh week" extends to the immediate past of the writer. This period, however, is rendered illustrious at its close by the appearance of an eternal Plant of Righteousness, who will reward the elect by giving them sevenfold instruction respecting his whole creation. To this "Plant," in the opinion of Dr. Filippi, no person in the whole Jewish history, after the first destruction of the Temple, can possibly correspond, except the Christian Saviour.

Besides the seven weeks, an eighth, ninth, and tenth have been mentioned in a previous chapter, where the passages referring to them seem so strangely placed that Dr. Laurence does not scruple so to transpose them that they appear as a supplement to those just described. If the seven weeks bring us down to Pseudo-Enoch, it is manifest that all that is said with respect to the other three must be considered prophetic in the strict sense of the word. Now during the eighth week, which is designated one of righteousness, the righteous will subdue the wicked; and during the ninth righteous judgment is to be revealed, and all works of the ungodly will vanish from the earth. The tenth ends with the last judgment, and the appearance of the new heaven, as predicted in the Apocalypse. On the hypothesis that Pseudo-Enoch is a Christian, there is no difficulty with the eighth week, which may be referred to the gradual triumph of the Church; nor with the tenth. But what is supposed to happen during the ninth? Dr. Filippi fills up the gap by considering this the period of the Millennium, which, in the opinion of many Christians, is to precede the final judgment. The result then of Dr. Filippi's reasoning, which is supported by several minor arguments, is this—that Pseudo-Enoch was a Christian who wrote shortly after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Titus. Consistent with this view is an opinion that the Book of Enoch was originally in Greek.

There is one point with respect to this curious book which we have scarcely touched upon, and which to some persons will be of the greatest interest, and that is its connexion with the General Epistle of St. Jude, whose words, according to the Authorized Version (14, 15), are as follow:—"And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, 'Behold the Lord cometh, with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.'" The corresponding passage in the Book of Enoch reads thus:—"Behold, he comes, with ten thousands of saints, to hold judgment upon them, and will destroy the wicked and contend with all flesh concerning everything that the sinners and the ungodly have done and committed against Him" (chap. i. 9). Though the passages are substantially the same, the correspondence between them is not so close that we can regard the words of Jude as an exact quotation.

With the exception of Tertullian there has never perhaps been a warmer admirer of the Book of Enoch than Dr. Filippi, who regards it as one and indivisible from beginning to end. He is not only opposed to earlier critics, who look upon it as a compilation of fragments, produced at different periods, but he is dissatisfied with the view of Dr. Dillmann that the work is by one author in the main, but has been enriched here and there with consummate skill by an interpolator. The book, the whole book, and nothing but the book, will content Dr. Filippi. Nevertheless he cannot bear to charge an Apostle with giving his sanction to the authority of a book which is clearly uncanonical, and propagating the belief that it is the work of an antiluvian prophet by whom it was manifestly not written. Hence he has a theory that, instead of Jude referring to the Book of Enoch, Pseudo-Enoch, on the contrary, when he conceived the idea of making the "man who walked with God" the nominal mouth-piece of his own theories, was encouraged by the passage in the Epistle, which was written before he commenced his labours. Enoch once selected among the saints of old, he freely made use of such material as was afforded to him by the stores of Jewish tradition. Jude might be acquainted with the tradition likewise, and had the advantage of inspiration in discerning the true from the false; and it is worthy of note that he does not expressly refer to a book at all, but simply quotes the words of the antiluvian Enoch, without stating the source whence they were derived.

STRETTON.*

IF excess on either side is better than the dead level of mediocrity, Mr. Henry Kingsley may be congratulated, for in *Stretton* he has surpassed himself—which is saying much—and has produced a novel to which it would be difficult to find an equal. Always with original notions of style and grammar, his originality here takes still higher and more daring flights; and if the English language is to be written according to the model of *Stretton*, we must have new rules and principles of construction without delay. A peerless young man, a first-class Oxford man, says "Let you and I tackle to this regiment." The author himself asks of a certain Mrs. Evans, who is walking bareheaded under the dew and through the growing clover, with an Indian shawl dropping off her shoulders, and beating herself about the head with her clenched fists, "Is it her in the flesh, and has she gone mad?" Grave old college dons roll off the latest slang, and always speak of the young men who have come up to the University as "a team of boys"; and an Oxford Dean thinks it no shame to preach without a nominative, and to use English epithets in a French sense for the benefit of a rural congregation. He speaks of the "three Shropshire boys" now serving in India (during the mutiny) in this strain:—"In the very depth of the darkness of this furious imbroglia, the extent of which no man can measure, the end of which no man can see, I who preach to you have three boys, more deeply dear to me than my own life. They were committed

* *Stretton*. A Novel. By Henry Kingsley, Author of "Geoffrey Hamlyn," "Ravenshoe," &c. &c. 3 vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.

to me by a man I respect and reverence beyond most men, and I did my best by them. Clever, petulant, furious, fantastic, you know them; you can all say that of them. Innocent, kindly, brave; you can all say that of them." We can fancy how Hodge and Joan would look at each other while this volley of fine epithets was being fired above their heads, and how they would wonder at what ever on air the parson meant, and what ever was he driving at. But the Hodges of the book have the best of it. A young jeweller designs a "collier"—nothing so commonplace as a necklace—on the principles of the New Jerusalem; and an evil old village woman discourses in this fashion to Aunt Eleanor, the lady farmer and landed proprietor of the place:—"My husband's family have been vassals to your's for centuries. Coming from the manufacturing counties as I do, this vassalage seemed strange at first, but I have got used to it." Further on she says:—

"You will poison Miss Mordaunt's mind against marriage, Miss Eleanor. Beauty like her's should not go unused. Mordaunts and Evanses must not fall in the land; beauty, worth, valour, perfect openness, and perfect truth are too good qualities to be lost in the land; and where are they to be found unless among Mordaunts and Evanses? Ah! we may see Miss Mordaunt mistress of Stretton yet." Whereupon Miss Ethel, with her crest in the air, marched out of the room, with her riding-habit under her arm, and a look of high, cool, unutterable contempt on her face. "I will come back, Miss Evans, when this woman is gone," she said; but she might have gone upstairs without bruising her clenched hand against the banisters. "Mrs. Gray," said Eleanor, angrily, "you are taking great liberties." "Only with a Mordaunt. I love it; I love to make one of those snake-headed Mordaunts put their heads in the air, like an adder just before he strikes; I do it with the boys. They are a red-handed old lot. Why, that youngest one, Jimmy, her brother, nigh tortured your own nephew, Edward, to death at school, that you know. Mad love and bitter hate. I love to play with a Mordaunt. Ha! ha!" "I'll trouble you not to play with an Evans, if you please," said Eleanor, calmly furious. "No! no! not with a she-Evans. They get their stuff from the Merediths. Do you remember your mother? Ah! to see her bareheaded, with her hands held up over her head—well, don't look like that. She was a Meredith, and so are you; your brother is an Evans. All the men-Evanses are soft; you can do anything with 'em you like, except resist them when they plead. Your brother took two of my sons to Waterloo, and only brought back one. They would have gone to the devil after him—and then—why, and then another man-Evans, your nephew Edward, kisses you, strokes your hair, calls you his foolish old woman, and makes you, a woman of spirit, do just as he pleases. And he will live to break your heart as his father broke mine. You wait till you are old, and see him spending your hard-earned money on them that will despise you. Wait till you see him getting impatient for your death, and then remember my words."

Which we venture to say is the most remarkable harangue any old "trot," as Mr. Henry Kingsley calls his village dames, was ever heard to make before the grand lady of the place. Only Mr. Henry Kingsley's own characters can show anything like it in fiction; while, happily, in society as it is, such a discourse has never been heard, and, we are bold to predict, never will be heard.

In the beginning of things, and indeed quite to the end of the second volume, it is next to impossible for the reader to make out the individuality of any of this renowned "team of boys" sent up from the Gloucester Grammar School to Saint Paul's College. They are all Evanses and Mordaunts and Maynards, and are all so rich and handsome, and so mixed up together, that they can hardly be distinguished the one from the other. To be sure one is staglike, another bovine, and a third has the head of a snake; one is Antinous, and another a Hercules, another again like a pretty girl, whose beauty and smallness and delicacy get bepraised and belauded in the most sickening manner; and one is a Berserker, and has Norse blood and Norse madness in him—how stale that old Kingsley affectation is! Roland, the hero of them all, though all are heroes in their way, is a "splendid upstanding young fellow, with short curling hair, who carries his head like a stag"; and he does wonderful things in boating and classics and love-making and Indian soldiery. But the first time he and his four comrades are in at college lecture they have an unseemly schoolboy wrangle; and they are such baby innocents, though young men grown, that they do not know the difference between college and school, but think they are to be caned, and get lines, and have their liberty stopped, when the Dean tells them to wait after lecture. When they get off with only an admonition to remember that they are men and gentlemen, they have a free fight on the stairs for joy. This kind of thing goes on all through, until it becomes inexpressibly wearisome, and without effecting its purpose. Mr. Henry Kingsley had it in his mind to show us a little knot of high-spirited gentlemen-like lads, fresh and innocent, while brave and manly; but he has drawn only a silly set of riotous bumpkins, irritating enough to have excused any one who had caned them all round. It is not so much the sense of life and vivacity that he has given us, as of noise, confusion, and folly. The whole book indeed has this one character of confusion. The story is confused; the style is jerky, allusive, and difficult to follow; the characters are phantasmagoric, and run into each other; and, though plentifully described so far as words go, remain to the last in a nebulous condition, hazy and indistinct. Nothing is made out, nothing drawn in clearly, or touched incisively. Persons, dates, and circumstances flit at random about the pages; and we never know who may not turn up hundreds of miles away from where we saw him last, with no apparent reason that should have brought him over. The whole "team" are united by such tremendous bonds of love and hate that there is no dividing them. For if one hates another, he loves the sister or the brother of his foe with so much warmth that for the sake of the common centre he agrees to sink all differences and to

be as loving as the rest. And they all love in a demonstrative manner rarely seen among Englishmen—a petting, caressing, womanly manner peculiarly Mr. Henry Kingsley's. And they all talk a mixture of blank verse and slang, the like of which no ordinary English gentleman is ever heard to talk under any circumstances whatsoever. But the funniest scene of all is where Eddy goes among the roughs on Saffron Hill. Some of them are up in London "seeing life," and Eddy chooses, as his particular form of that occupation, to go to Camden Town, and thence to a Bible Class in Saffron Hill, with his friend Allan Gray—the young jeweller who makes bridal necklaces on New Jerusalem principles. This account of the Ragged School in Saffron Hill is perhaps the most affected and insincere bit of writing in a book which is affected and insincere throughout. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Kingsley has ever seen what he has attempted to describe, and entirely incomprehensible how he could have condescended to such worse than womanish weakness in his delineation of Eddy. The scene is too long to be given *in extenso*, but the image of Eddy, a young collegian of seventeen, first of all objecting to the quarter on the plea of liking "pretty places and pretty things"; then sitting down in the ragged school "very frightened" because he was asked to teach, and saying to his audience helplessly, "I don't know anything about teaching, but I know the Acts in Greek, and I have been used to class and lecture," then asking them all what they had got to live on, is something too absurd. Had Eddy been a little country girl instead of a young collegian, he could not have been a greater fool, nor could Mr. Kingsley have taken more pains to show how very foolish he is. "But, Sir," said Eddy, puzzled and startled, speaking to an old sailor in the class who argues about St. Paul's tramping it from Gaeta to Rome—"but, Sir, if you haven't got any money, we might give you some of ours." This is after college experience, and boating, and the barges. Also says Eddy on the subject of tramping:—

"How very pleasant! Why on earth did you come here? Do you mean to say that you went on from one place to another, without caring where you slept, in this beautiful summer weather? I should like that immensely."

When it was explained to this cherubic innocent that they had nothing, and that, tramps as they were, they naturally wanted to eat and drink, his reply is:—

"I always thought you had barrows of cherries, or grindstones, or vans with brass knockers, when you went on the tramp. I always thought it looked so pleasant." "We hadn't got no money," said the sailor. "I have not got any either," said Eddy, wishing to awaken a fellow feeling somehow, but feeling very much at sea. "My eldest brother has taken away my money, because he was afraid I should make a fool of myself; and my brother is a very talented young man, with a singularly good judgment."

As unnatural in another way is Allan Gray, who speaks to a drunken woman thus:—

"What a very foolish woman you will find yourself if once you have sufficient resolution to bring your mind to bear upon it, you know. You should bring your mind to bear upon questions of this kind, and should not take action in this rapid and illogical manner. You should think the question out."

This is because the woman wants to get at Eddy, who has protected her by knocking her husband down, the cherubic innocent having science, if no end of folly. Again, when this amiable young gentleman goes home escorted by Allan Gray, the meeting between him and his elder brother Roland is curious, to say the least of it. It must be remembered that they are all young men, and that even Eddy, though not quite up to his brother, being a "light-weight" and fond of jewellery, is far above the average in intrinsic manliness and brains, not to speak of skill and courage:—

Roland, the scholar and the athlete, had his square-sided snake-like head bent over his books when the two came in. He was sitting in his shirt-sleeves, and he caught sight of his brother first, and Allan saw him drop his pen, and noticed that the two brown hands turned themselves with their palms uppermost, and spread themselves out to meet those of the brother. Allan, standing in the shade, saw this; but saw more. He saw a bright light in Roland's face for one instant, which he knew, but which I have a difficulty in describing. The eyebrows were elevated, and the mouth was slightly parted, and from between the parted lips the soul said, "My darling! my darling! where have you been?"

Does this strike the reader as being anything like what Roland Evans would have said? This Allan Gray is Roland's elder brother, and the rightful heir to the estates. He is the son of a low marriage made with "old trot's" daughter, when Captain Charles Evans was a young man, just before Waterloo; but he had been mixed up and shuffled about with another baby born in the Grays' cottage at much the same time, and no one but Phyllis Myrtle, another "old trot" much given to sentiment and gin, and her confidante Mrs. Maynard, a woman of position, know that the babies were changed when the one who was not Squire Charles's died; and that Allan Gray, now living as a New Jerusalemite in Camden Town, is really the lawful heir of Stretton, and the eldest and legitimately born son of Squire Charles. However, both young men being heroes in their way, there is no grasping on the one side nor holding back on the other; and both being penetrated with the love of humanity far more than with anything like self-concern, the claims and the defence are put into the hands of the solicitors, and the only confusion likely to arise seems to be in the contention who shall be most generous. A compromise is effected by the lawyers, and our heroes finally meet in India, where Roland is doing good work in

the common-sense way of military defence, and Allan bitter mischief by his New Jerusalem and untimely preaching. After having released the Berserker Jim Mordaunt, who has got into trouble by some exhibition of the Norse madness not approved of by the Rajah of Belpore, Allan goes away quietly to be killed; after which the Shropshire team pull through all their troubles, and come home to fine fortunes, pretty wives, and a general hurrahing of the villagers:—

So ended the pageant, and so ends my seventh story. My boys were very dear to me, but they have passed into Shadow-land for ever; the two Mordaunts, the two Evanses, and Maynard. Of all the ghosts of old friends which I have called up in this quaint trade, called the writing of fiction, only two remain with me, and never quit me. The others come and go, and I love them well enough; but the two who are with me always are the peaked-faced man, Charles Ravenshoe, and the lame French girl, Mathilde.

We can assure Mr. Henry Kingsley that the "quaint trade" he follows would be rid of no little rubbish if he would leave it and its ghosts alone; or at all events, if he must follow it, let him follow it with some amount of simplicity and truth, some kind of regard to nature, common sense, and the rules of art. He ought to remember that failure has a reflex action, no less than success; and that careless work, conceit, and bad grammar are safe to ensure failure, if indulged in to the extent in which he has permitted himself to indulge in them in this silly book of impossibilities and affectation.

HABIT AND INTELLIGENCE.*

IN his recent series of essays on *Habit and Intelligence* Mr. J. J. Murphy has attacked the problems which lie around the bases of life and thought from an original standing-point, as well as with much freshness and vigour of reasoning. The title of his book is felt by the writer to call for somewhat of explanation. The work itself, however, will be found, after a few preliminary steps by way of defining and justifying his peculiar terminology, to embody fairly enough a substantive, and in many respects a novel, system of ideas as regards the most fundamental processes of being and mind. The word "habit" is employed by him in a sense unusually wide, but, as he fairly urges, in a sense which is strictly accurate, and well fitted to form the nucleus out of which his scheme of philosophy has taken its growth and shape. He means by "habit" that law "in virtue of which all the actions and the characters of living beings tend to repeat and perpetuate themselves." This principle, we need scarcely point out, is but the extension to the facts and operations of organic or intelligent life of a postulate which is popularly known as one of the primary laws of motion in the domain of physics. A wave or pulsation of life or mind, like a material body in motion, will continue to pulsate or flow till arrested by some opposing force or obstacle. In the organic or vital sphere there is, moreover, a distinctive or differential principle of action, and that of a twofold character. Not only is every living organism distinguished by the capacity of growth, but the perpetuation of force, based upon this law of growth, holds good, not only in the individual, but in the offspring. Just as the early and simple law of motion aforesaid has been expanded into the modern principle of the conservation or indestructibility of force, so does it come to little more than a truism to say that vital or mental energy has its effect through every stage of inherited being. The same law which is incontrovertibly true in physics may be no less conclusively established as a fundamental law of life and mind. What is the law of association of ideas, of which so much is commonly made as a fundamental law of mind, but a particular instance of the law of habit? A large part of Mr. Murphy's treatise is occupied with tracing and systematizing the laws under which habits form themselves, disappear, alter under altered circumstances, or vary spontaneously. Bishop Butler was probably the first to take note of the fact that active habits strengthen, while passive impressions weaken, by repetition. Mr. Murphy shows these effects, by an ingenious process of reasoning, to be both traceable alike to the influence of the same law. He even goes beyond this, and makes it clear that this law is not confined to mental and voluntary actions, but has its foundation far down in the unconscious life. The power of medicines and stimulants, it is well known, is diminished by constant use. Another instance is seen in the action on the heart of a blow or sudden fright, like an electric shock. First comes a momentary cessation or slackening of the heart's action. Next, if the shock is not sufficient to cause death, follows a quickening of the heart's action, the well-known "beating of the heart." Suppose the stimulus or shock to be repeated, its intensity being the same, its effect will become less with every repetition. The heart, that is, is acquiring the habit of not making any response to it, just as the sleeper acquires the habit of not making any response to the bell. Still more curious is the instance of climbing plants, like the *passiflora gracilis*, cited from Mr. Darwin. The tendril which will yield to the slightest pressure of a twig, or to a weight the 32nd of a grain, will show no heed of the contact of other tendrils of the same plant, or of the falling of drops of rain. The tendrils have acquired the habit of neglecting these—a wonderful instance of vegetable instinct. That animal organs grow by exercise is a fact which has an important bearing upon the same law of develop-

ment, extending to all vital actions—formative, motor, and mental. Through a chain of proofs, varied and subtle, yet firm and of growing tenacity, Mr. Murphy expands this fundamental idea. From the primary forces and motive powers of the universe he passes on to the chemical energies involved in the combination of elementary powers, and from them to the laws of crystallization, with the analogies and distinctions between crystals and organisms, whence we advance to what is called the chemistry of life, and its results in the multifarious phenomena of animal organization. The chapter on the "dynamics of life" deserves particularly to be pointed out as an example of the writer's power in grasping the results of the deepest physiological and biological research, and combining them with what is known of the elementary substances and forces which go to make up the ultimate tissues of animal or plant. Throughout organized nature may be traced the great principle of the "assimilation or storing-up of energy," to be transformed at need into functional, motor, or intelligent force.

The word intelligence, used as it is by the writer in its familiar sense, hardly calls for definition. It will not be questioned by any one that intelligence is found in none but living beings. But it is not so obvious that intelligence is an attribute of all living beings, and is co-extensive with life itself. In his use of the word Mr. Murphy includes not only the conscious intelligence of the mind, but also "the organizing intelligence which adapts the eye for seeing, the ear for hearing, and every part of an organism for its special work." He is not much given to quoting authorities, beyond a few leading thinkers and writers of the day. Nor does his reading seem to have extended widely or deeply into the literature of the past. He seems scarcely aware how much of the ground gone over in the course of his speculations was covered by the "vitalist" controversy originated by Stahl a century and a half ago, and recently revived in France. It has been the generally received doctrine that the organizing intelligence and the mental intelligence are two distinct intelligences. Mr. Murphy's position is that they are not distinct, but are two separate manifestations of the same intelligence, which is co-extensive with life, though it is for the most part unconscious, and only becomes fully conscious of itself in the mind of man. Intelligence assumes in our author's scheme the central position which in the more fanciful system of Schopenhauer was occupied by the will. Habit is in itself, he argues, obviously an unintelligent principle. "No intelligence is involved in the mere tendency to repeat an action or to perpetuate a character." But when the laws of Habit and of Intelligence have been laid down, it becomes a question whether intelligence is itself an ultimate fact, incapable of being resolved into any simpler elements or agencies, or only a resultant from the quasi-mechanical laws of habit. This question, as treated by the writer, it is hardly an exaggeration to describe as "by far the most important of all problems now under scientific discussion, and perhaps the most important that science can ever have to consider." In its solution are bound up interests beyond those which attach to science in the abstract. In the course of the argument the mind is almost unavoidably brought to the borders of a region external to that which is usually regarded as the domain of science. Such subjects as the origin of the universe, the origin of life, the nature of intelligence, and the nature and ground of the moral sense, suggest questions which, if they are to be answered at all, must be answered from data not to be found in the visible world. It would seem to be from no indifference to this class of questions, but rather from a conviction of their transcendent importance, that the author has forbore to enter upon them in the present work. They are, we are glad to hear, to form the subject of a distinct work, already in progress, called the *Scientific Bases of Faith*. In the meanwhile we are pleased to listen to a writer who has so firm a foothold upon the ground within the scope of his immediate survey, and who can enunciate with so much clearness and force propositions which come within his grasp.

From the point of view adopted in the present work the leading problem divides itself into two—the one concerning the unconscious intelligence that organizes the body, the other concerning the conscious intelligence of mind. The investigation of the nature of the organizing intelligence involves the question of the dawn of organic life, as well as that of the later stages of organic growth and development, which, since the publication of Mr. Darwin's great work, may be said to have attracted more interest than any other scientific question of the day. Mr. Murphy professes his agreement with Mr. Darwin in the belief that all species have been derived by descent, with modifications, from a few simple germs, possibly from a single original germ. He further agrees with him in attaching great importance to "natural selection among spontaneous variations," as part of that agency by which the modifications have been effected. But he is altogether opposed to Mr. Darwin in believing that the wondrous facts of organic adaptation cannot all have been produced by natural selection, or by any unintelligent agency whatever. In his chapter on organization, for instance, after disavowing all connexion with the exploded notions of "final cause," as having no place in scientific parlance, he dwells strongly upon the idea of "purpose" as peculiar to and constitutive of organized structure, and as having in nature "analogies with man's work." The relation of means to purpose is with him a higher analogue of the relation of living structure to function. For instance, the relation of the structure of the eye to the function of seeing is something which has no analogy whatever in the inorganic creation,

* *Habit and Intelligence, in their Connexion with the Laws of Matter and Force: a Series of Scientific Essays.* By Joseph John Murphy. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

but which has analogies in machinery and other apparatus of man's invention. The eye is, in fact, a camera obscura. No man of the simplest intelligence can deny the existence of the most complex and wonderful adaptations in the organic creation. Are these, then, but so many cases of the simple or mechanical law of cause and effect? It has been maintained with great knowledge and ability by Mr. Darwin in his *Origin of Species*, and by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his *Principles of Biology*, that the laws of cause and effect are adequate to account for all adaptations; that the adaptation of the eye to light, for example, has been produced by the direct and indirect action of light upon countless generations of living beings; and so of all organic adaptations. From this theory Mr. Murphy totally dissents. It is his belief that the relation of means and purposes in organization is as much a primary law of nature, and as incapable of being resolved into any other more general principle, as the relation of cause and effect itself. As we ascend the scale in nature to higher and higher vital functions, we find the relation of cause and effect less traceable, and that of purpose more so. Nowhere in the universe, he argues, is the relation of means to purpose more conspicuous to us than in the organs of sense in the higher animals, especially in the eye and the ear. Yet nowhere is it more difficult, not to say impossible, to assign any physical cause for the structure which these wonderful organs have assumed. And as we rise in the study of nature, not only do the separate functions become more widely traceable, but their mutual relations become more definite. The trunk, the leaves, and the flowers of a tree have each their function, but it would be unmeaning to ask whether the tree exists for the leaves, or the leaves for the tree. In all the higher animals the parts manifestly exist for the whole, and the whole for the parts. The purposes which biological science reveals to us are, in fact, only relative purposes. As Kant acutely remarked, all the parts of an organism are mutually means and ends; all the parts ministering to each other and to the whole. If we ask what absolute end is served by this wondrous play of means to relative ends, physical science, Mr. Murphy justly reminds us, gives no hint or suggestion of any answer. He is, however, in error when he lays down the distinction that purpose, as manifested in intelligence, is not equally discoverable in the inorganic creation. What reason can there be for asserting that the laws of heat or gravitation, or the chemical properties of bodies, are either more or less designed for or directed towards an end or purpose, than the laws of structure or of formation which biological science makes known to our minds? Nor is this the only source of confusion which Mr. Murphy introduces into this portion of his argument. While repudiating the use of "final causes," as an exploded expression in science, he makes it by implication a charge against the science of the day that it has neglected, and even abjures, all reference beyond that of cause and effect; in other words, that it confines itself to phenomena in their sequences or immediate causes, without pursuing them to their ultimate cause or purpose. He here places himself in a logical dilemma. If he refuses to include the relation of means and purposes in organization within the general relation of cause and effect, he virtually, though explicitly protesting against the charge, denies the universality of the law of causation. If, on the other hand, he finds fault with advanced science for stopping short of a sphere where the universal relation of cause and effect ceases to hold good, on what logical wings, we should like to know, is he going to sustain himself in an atmosphere too attenuated for all known processes and conditions of thought? What our author objects to in Mr. Darwin is that that philosopher throws no light upon the origin of life as distinct from the origin of species, or from successive steps in the evolution of living forms. Professedly accepting to the full the theory of development, Mr. Murphy holds the theory to be incomplete as yet. Beyond all recognised forms, however much modified by descent under the laws of gradual and successive development, he would go back further still to some "one originally vitalized but unorganized germ." This germ, he believes, "must have been vitalized by the same Creative Power that gave their origin and their properties to matter and energy." Our author is here trespassing upon ground which he has marked out by anticipation for his promised work upon the basis of theism. To account for the origin of life, or the origin of matter, forms no part of the programme of science, in the strict or positive sense in which science is at present understood. It was in no sense that which formed the subject of Mr. Darwin's special and characteristic theory. To trace within the range of ascertained forms of life, and throughout the entire record of organized being, a uniform law of sequence and unbroken chain of development is quite another thing from assigning a date to the beginning of life itself, or giving laws to a power which must in its very nature transcend all that experience tells us concerning the forces or agencies that now exist. The very idea of creation, or of a beginning of things in the absolute sense, lying as it does beyond the scope of our experience, beyond even that of our power of conception, can find no place in the domain of science. There is, on the other hand, nothing in the peculiar hypothesis so carefully elaborated by Mr. Darwin which necessarily excludes the operation of an ultimate or first cause, or which is incompatible either with rigid theism or with the more developed or dogmatic forms of received theology. An uncalled for and excessive antagonism to the principle of development by natural selection, as well as to that of the psychological school dating from Hartley, and represented by Mill, Bain, and Herbert Spencer in our day, has been

the means of betraying Mr. Murphy into fields of speculation beyond the proper province of his inquiry, no less than into inconsequences of reasoning which weaken our trust in his logical powers. There is so much of boldness and breadth in his conception of his subject, and so much fresh and genuine ability in his mode of making good his main positions, as to make us regret the more anything that might be taken for injustice in dealing with the arguments of an opponent.

THE MUNICIPAL HISTORY OF LONDON.*

THE reappearance, after an interval of forty years, of so well-known a book as Mr. Norton's *Commentaries* enables us to measure the enormous advance which has been made during the interval in the knowledge of municipal history. At the date of its first publication, the annals of London, as they were drawn by writers like Maitland from chroniclers like Grafton and Hall, disclosed little more than a monotonous succession of civic junketings, while, for a general inquiry into the subject of borough life, materials could only be found in the meagre treatises of Brady and Maddox, or in the larger and more recent compilation of Stephens and Merewether—treatises as polemic in spirit as they were antiquarian in form, and really directed, not to the investigation of municipal history in itself, but solely to those conditions or restrictions of municipal suffrage by which it told on the general politics of the realm. The great collections of Thierry, and the well-known prefaces which first gave a philosophic basis to the study of communal institutions, were still unknown on this side of the Channel, and Sir Francis Palgrave had done little more than hint at his conclusions in a few reviews. To explore the history of London, therefore, in 1828, was simply impossible, and Mr. Norton did wisely in looking for firm ground in a running commentary on the long series of charters which recorded the gradual steps of its advance. Since that time, however, a mass of new materials has accumulated, in which the actual life of the great city stands revealed to us; the researches of M. Delpit among its archives, the edition of the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* by Mr. Stapleton, have been followed and completed by the publication of the *Liber Albus* and the *Liber Custumarum* in the series of the Master of the Rolls. Of this immense addition, however, to our knowledge the new issue of Mr. Norton's *Commentaries* knows absolutely nothing, while the revision announced in its title has left every page disfigured by historical blunders which would disgrace a schoolboy. Hengest, for instance, "established his government over Kent, Essex, and Middlesex, and fixed upon Canterbury as his capital in preference to London." Egbert "fixed upon this city as the seat of his residence and the metropolis of his empire." Heriot is called a "Danish" burden. "The Bishop, who acted as a magistrate, was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury." It is needless, however, to prolong a list of errors which occur on every page of the earlier part of this volume—errors no doubt inevitable at a time when Hume could be cited as the source of information for our earlier history, but we can hardly think that the Corporation of London have exercised a wise liberality in encouraging a mere reprint. Some effort might at least have been made in this third edition to bring the book up to the historical level of to-day.

The municipal history of London divides itself into two great periods—the period of communal development, and that of mercantile restriction. The first ranges from the very dawn of its English history to the date of the battle of Evesham and the close of the Barons' war. The modern life of London seems to have begun in the revival of its commercial activity after the settlement of the Danes; its political importance as "the capital" dates only from the eve of the Conquest and the settlement of the Confessor at Westminster. That, like the bulk of the English towns, it had ever formed part of the Royal demesne, there is the very strongest ground for doubting. The first step towards freedom in the ordinary history of boroughs is the commutation of the unlimited demands which could be made on them at the will of their lord, for a fixed annual sum, the fee-farm rent. By the acceptance of such a payment the lord of a borough, were he king or earl, parted at once with his actual proprietorship in the soil, and in the persons of the citizens; the borough became free, its inhabitants became "freemen." But no tradition of such a change exists in the case of London. There seems every ground for supposing, with Sir Francis Palgrave, that in this case at least the Roman municipium had survived the storm of the English Conquest, that it had practically retained its independence in the face of the petty kings of the East Saxons, and that the sole hold of the conquerors upon it lay in the presence of a royal reeve, the reservation to him of the higher criminal justice, and the exaction of specified royal dues. But if its freedom were a relic of Roman times, its inner constitution, as it survived unchanged from its first revelation in the Dooms of King Athelstan to the great changes of the Edwards, presented the most perfect image of the older Teutonic democracy. In form it was precisely identical with that of the country round it; the burgesses were grouped, for the purposes of the "free pledge," in their territorial sokes or gilds, as the husbandmen in their hundreds, gild-court answered to hundred-leet, alderman to hundred-man. The royal reeve served, in the borough as in the

* *Commentaries on the History, Constitution, and Chartered Franchises of the City of London.* By George Norton. Third Edition, revised. London: Longmans & Co. 1869.

county, as the centre around which these separate powers and jurisdictions grouped themselves in a loose federal way; bishop and reeve presided in the general hustings-court as bishop and reeve presided in the shire-moot. But the whole of this simple and obvious organization was penetrated with the spirit of personal independence. The hereditary alderman presided, indeed, in the leet-court of his ward or gild; on solemn fast-days he gathered with his fellows round the reeve for consultation on the affairs of the town. But the real control was in the hands of the free burgesses themselves. They did service at the ward-mote for law or for government; suit or ordinance were decided by their "yea" or "nay." In the same free "yea" or "nay," thundered out more loudly as the great bell from the campanile of St. Paul's summoned the Folk-mote together in the church-yard, lay the rule of the city. All laws were passed, all elections made, all greater suits decided by the collective body of burgesses, gathered, as the Swiss freemen still gather, their own rulers and lawgivers, in the green meadows of Uri.

It was this free constitution which the Conqueror recognised when his charter confirmed to the men of London the rights they had enjoyed in the days of King Edward. Through all the great changes which followed on the Conquest, London remained the single untouched instance of English self-government. The free voice of the people was hushed in the deliberations of the Magnates or of the King's Council, but the Folk-mote beneath St. Paul's still preserved the tradition of the Witanagemot. It was this preservation of the old Teutonic tradition that made the political greatness of London of such vital moment for England under her foreign Kings. It was from the city which still preserved the rights she had enjoyed under Edward that the claim went forth on behalf of the nation at large for the restoration of the laws of the Confessor, for the charters, which recognised that claim, of Henry and Stephen and John. Stephen was emphatically the Londoners' King; in him they claimed, more for the people than for themselves, their "jus prerogativum eligendi," the right of nomination in the case of a disputed succession; it was the rejection of their cry for the Confessor's laws that overthrew the throne of Matilda; St. Thomas was a son of the great city; the first Act of Henry II. was a confirmation of its freedom. By the close of his reign London was already pressing forward to the second step in its municipal advance. As yet the municipal influence had been seen in the extension to borough after borough of the liberties she had once exclusively possessed. The great democratic movement which sweeps quietly along, unnoticed by historians, from the days of the First Henry to those of the Third, found its source in the capital, and the charter of London is expressly quoted as their type by the bulk of the charters of the realm. But it is the direct influence of the parallel movement in the north of France, which is seen when Earl John and the Baronage, gathered with the Folk-mote to decree the deposition of Longchamps, granted that the City should henceforth be a "commune," bound as the communes of Amiens or Noyon by the joint oath that knit burghers into fellow-citizens. John, in fact, the clearest-sighted of the Angevins, saw throughout the political importance of London; it was to his desire to win its goodwill that the City owed the crown of its privileges in the grant of the Mayoralty, the concession of entire self-government.

The concession was fruitless; London bore the brunt, both of the original revolt which won the charter, and of the long struggle which preserved it from his son. Nowhere is Mr. Norton more defective than in his account of the part played by London both internally and politically in the Barons' war. The *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* reveals the inevitable progress of the new democratic movement, which found expression in the Friars and in the reforms of De Montfort, within the walls of the town; the first great severance between the "maiores" and "minores," the "discreti homines" and the "indiscreta multitudo," upon which the after-history of the capital was to turn. The triumph of De Montfort was the triumph of the civic democracy, of that older Teutonic equality which expressed itself in the Folk-mote and in the Commune. The triumph of Prince Edward was the triumph of an oligarchic minority, the beginning of a long reaction which ended only in the ruin of municipal freedom. It is this second period of the history of London which we have termed the period of mercantile restriction. We can only briefly sum up here its principal features, but it is important, in the face of the praises showered of late upon the First and Third of the Edwards, to note the part which these princes actually played in the matter. To Edward I. London owed the overthrow of her popular constitution, the exile, imprisonment, or death of her more patriotic citizens, and the restriction of all power to the wealthier and more conservative among her burghers. Before the close of his reign, a royal edict had withdrawn the election of their Mayor from the citizens at large and entrusted it to a select committee of *probi homines*, the *prudhommes* of Continental history, summoned by the civic oligarchy. It was in vain that the citizens claimed again and again their rights; their interference in civic elections was at last peremptorily forbidden, and the grossest oppression on the part of the wealthier classes was supported by the Crown. Under Edward III. the cessation of the Folk-mote threw the control of the City wholly into the hands of the *prudhommes*, a body who, in the reign of his successor, became the "Common Council," in which this branch of civic government finally vested. But side by side with this action of the Crown, the civic oligarchy was pursuing a yet more complete plan of popular disfranchisement. It is in the reign of Edward II. that Mr. Norton finds the first

mention of the mercantile constitutions of the civic corporations. Their advance, however, was rapid, and membership in a trade-guild—a privilege necessarily denied to the mass of inhabitants by the long apprenticeship or the heavy redemption-fee—became now an indispensable preliminary to the full freedom of the City. For the first time since the charter of the Conqueror, Londoners, as a whole, ceased to be "law-worthy." One general privilege yet lingered in the election of members to Parliament; but under Edward IV. this last remnant of the older constitution disappeared, and the attendance at Common Hall for this purpose was restricted to the liverymen of the Companies. Never had London seemed greater or wealthier than under the merchant-rule. The Crown was its debtor, civic loans rendered Crécy or Agincourt possible, royal letters from the field of battle announced the tidings of success to the citizens first of all. Sometimes a merchant like Philpot would fit out a fleet for himself and sweep pirates from the seas. But the wealth seems to have been concentrated in a few hands, and the whole relation of London to the people at large was changed. Its privileges, wielded by a small oligarchy, were seen to be monopolies. The insurrections of Cade and of Mortimer showed the silent disaffection of the mass of inhabitants, excluded from all share in their own judicature or government. But its example had told for evil, as of old it had told for good. The same course of mercantile restriction had in every corner of England turned the boroughs into little oligarchies, and disfranchised one half of the electors of the realm. Under the Tudors, the Stuarts, the Georges, their Parliamentary representation had become a farce. National feeling, driven from its natural strongholds, had to express itself in the counties, till the great reforms of our own days restored our old political and municipal constitution. In those reforms London has participated; the general mass of citizens have regained their rights of election and self-government, though still hampered by the ridiculous claims of the trading companies. But it is a little discouraging to see that our greatest steps in advance are only a recurrence to older freedom, and that the great work we have to do is simply the undoing of evil that has been done.

THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS.*

A LEARNED Society devoted to one single branch of a larger science cannot be expected to produce annual volumes of equal interest and importance. It must be often engaged on seemingly trifling, fragmentary, and disconnected contributions to the science which it represents; and these, when collected into a volume, may afford no pleasant reading, while they bewilder the reader with the multitude of small additions to his knowledge, and disappoint him by telling him so little on subjects which he would gladly have seen probed to their depths. In many cases, indeed, one or two more considerable papers, embodying rare and long experience, and showing a full mastery of a large subject, give a higher tone to the volume in which they find a place. It is not our object to depreciate the small contributions, slight as they may seem to be, nor to exaggerate the value of the longer papers, which may after all owe their interest only to greater skillfulness of presentation. It is the privilege of volumes of Societies' "Transactions" to receive whatever sound knowledge is offered them without that bidding for popularity which is the bane of books of travel published independently; and what is for the time imperfect or fragmentary may lead the way to fuller and riper knowledge in the future. We mean, therefore, no disrespect to the writers of these "Transactions" when we assert that this seventh volume has far less of interest than some previous volumes. Its 333 pages contain no fewer than thirty articles, which gives an average of scarcely above ten pages to each; and it is obvious that no subject can be treated adequately on such a scale, except when it is so minute as to possess very slight importance. But it is impossible to speak of the composition of the volume without paying a tribute of respect to the late President of the Society, Mr. John Crawford, whose papers have so long formed the staple of the Transactions that they must henceforth be painfully missed. A philologist of a school somewhat antiquated, a student of one special branch of ethnology (that of the Malay race) who could scarcely raise himself to the higher level required for the consideration of the ultimate connexion of peoples apparently widely divergent, and who to the last doubted the existence of a consanguineous Aryan race—he wrote ably and honestly, and commanded the respect of those who differed most widely from him. His latest studies, "On the History and Migration of Textile and Territorial Plants in reference to Ethnology," "On the History and Migration of Cultivated Narcotic Plants in reference to Ethnology," "On the Malayan Race of Man, and its pre-historic Career," and "On the History and Migration of Cultivated Plants producing Coffee, Tea," &c., are contained in this volume; and we should be glad to learn that there are other posthumous articles still to be published. The loss of so diligent and careful a writer—we would refer the reader especially to the historical exposition in the last-named paper—is one of the most serious losses the Ethnological Society could have to deplore.

Is the vagueness with which the term ethnology is used an

* Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. Vol. VII. New Series. London: John Murray. 1869.

advantage or a disadvantage to the Society which adopts it? For making up a volume it is decidedly an advantage, since papers can be received which only belong to ethnology construed in the very widest sense. But for doing any scientific work, for investigating the nature, and therefore the affinities and distinctions, of race among mankind, it seems to us that the line should be drawn much closer than is the present practice with the Ethnological Society. We have here, for instance, "An Account of some Cases of Arrest of Development," which would have been more properly placed in a medical or pathological journal, since it simply gives instances of individual children whose growth of body and mind was "arrested" at an early period; it can therefore have no more bearing on the formation of nations than any other malformation, such as that of the Siamese twins. The article "On a Hairy Family in Burmah" is of the same class. Mr. Whymper's paper on "Russian America, or Alaska," is pleasant reading, but has scarcely enough of ethnology (unless it be his vocabularies of certain dialects) to warrant its insertion here.

The longest and perhaps most important paper is that by Dr. J. Shortt, Superintendent-General of Vaccine, Madras Presidency, entitled "An Account of the Hill-Tribes of the Neilgherries." The Neilgherries, it should be remembered, are the remarkable lofty range in which the Western and Eastern Ghats unite at their southern end, and which extends from about 12° to about 9° N. lat. The term "Hill-Tribe" is, here as elsewhere in India, applied to the half or wholly savage tribes who still live in solitude on isolated heights, little troubled by and little courting the society of the men of the plains surrounding their natural fortresses. They are therefore still objects of great interest, especially to ethnologists; for the great question has still to be solved, Are they the same as their civilized neighbours of the plain, wanting the civilization, or are they of a different and older race altogether? Their savageness and difficulty of approach, and the little need of political or social contact with them, have conspired to keep the Hill-Tribes at a distance from the European; and the Hindus, their especial enemies, have further imbued our countrymen with their own feelings. Now, however, a different spirit seems to pervade our treatment of India. We take nothing on hearsay, but ourselves explore all corners of the country, and especially endeavour to fill up great gaps in our knowledge of the races inhabiting it. The Hill-Tribes have justly received a large share of this attention; and Mr. W. W. Hunter, in his work recently reviewed in this journal *On the Non-Aryan Languages of India*, has done much for the investigation especially of the more northern of them—the Kols and Gonds. Dr. Shortt now describes the southernmost, which are especially interesting in many respects. His medical character and his official duty, that of vaccination, secured him reception and confidence everywhere, and he was enabled to study the physical conformation of the tribes visited, and generally to bring away measurements of the skull and every essential part of the body of both males and females, based on an average of twenty-five instances. There are five tribes—or rather races of tribe, since each is often subdivided—in the Neilgherries. Of these the Todas appear to be the most remarkable. They consider themselves the earliest occupiers of the hills, and give practical effect to this belief by basing upon it a claim for a tribute of one-sixth from the other tribes. The truth of this assertion of lordship is not only acknowledged by the other tribes, in the payment of tribute and in other significant matters, but is borne out by their position high up on the hills in the cooler temperature, whither the later arrival of other tribes must have driven them. To this elevated position they owe some of the interest which has centred on them, for Dr. Shortt considers that much of the manly beauty ascribed to them was due to their graceful toga-like covering and fine hair, exposed and destitute of the greasy turban; both peculiarities being possible only in a region so elevated as to have, at 11 degrees from the equator, a temperate climate; for the average annual temperature on the summit of the Neilgherries (Dodabetta, 8,760 feet above the sea) is below 59 degrees. He allows, however, that the Todas are by far the most prepossessing of all the tribes of the hills, being copper-coloured, tall, well-proportioned, and with features of Caucasian type; the females being also tall and good-looking (though not "strikingly handsome," as some have called them), with smooth and delicate skin, and nose more aquiline than is that of the men, and both sexes exhibiting a striking amount of self-possession in converse with strangers. Their occupations are pastoral, and their habits peaceful. So far the picture shines with the fairest colours. But some darker tints must be added, which alter essentially our feelings towards the Todas. They are constitutionally indolent and slothful, which is perhaps natural to herdsmen; however, "the wives are treated by their husbands with marked respect and attention, and, unlike most of the Indian races and natives of the East generally, are not regarded as mere household slaves; they are left at home to perform what European wives consider their legitimate share of duty, and do not even step out of doors to fetch water or wood. . . . The Toda women employ their leisure hours in embroidery work, which they execute in a clever off-hand manner; others amuse themselves in singing, of which all appear very fond." But they are dirty in their persons and habits, and never wash, but besmear themselves with *ghee* (melted butter), which soon becomes rancid. And they retain the extraordinary ancient custom of polyandry, which revolts our feelings so much more than polygamy. Yet the ancient Sanskrit epic, the Mahābhārata, shows us Draupadī as the common wife of the five Pāndava brothers, thus proving the custom to have a respectable age, and to be acknowledged even

by the civilized Sanskrit people of the North. The custom as now practised by the Todas is described by Dr. Shortt as follows:—

If there be one feature more than another that has contributed to invest the Todawar tribe with the great share of interest, or rather curiosity, evinced towards them at all times by Europeans, it is their practice of polyandry, which, as long as they have been known, has been maintained, and is still perpetuated, as a social system among them. Their practice is this—all brothers of one family, be they many or few, live in mixed and incestuous cohabitation with one or more wives. If there be four or five brothers, and one of them, being old enough, gets married, his wife claims all the other brothers as her husbands, and as they successively attain manhood, she consorts with them; or if the wife has one or more younger sisters, they in turn, on attaining a marriageable age, become the wives of their sister's husband or husbands, and thus in a family of several brothers there may be, according to circumstances, only one wife for them all, or many; but, one or more, they all live under one roof, and cohabit promiscuously, just as fancy or taste inclines. Owing, however, to the great scarcity of women in this tribe, it more frequently happens that a single woman is wife to several husbands, sometimes as many as six. When any one of the brothers or husbands enters the hut, he leaves his wand and mantle at the door, and this sign of his presence within prevents the intrusion of the others. . . . In keeping with this peculiar marriage system, they adopt a method of affiliation all their own; that is, the first-born child is fathered upon the eldest brother, the next-born on the second, and so on throughout the series. Notwithstanding this unnatural system, the Todas, it must be confessed, exhibit much fondness for their offspring, more so than their practice of mixed intercourse would seem to foster. Of this I had personal opportunities of satisfying myself when conducting vaccination amongst them. I have frequently seen the Toda mother, on hearing the cries of her child, exhibit marked maternal feeling and distress. There is no doubt that, anterior to the reclamation of these hills and their occupants from their original state of rude barbarism, female infanticide was practised among them; but this hateful crime, it is gratifying to record, has long since become extinct through the active operations of the British Government. It is unknown now, except as a traditional fact of the past, to the truth of which the tribes themselves bear the best testimony.

Their language is described as "unmistakeably Tamil, although what is now spoken is a mixed dialect, being a jargon of Tamil and Canarese. At first it is difficult to understand what they say, owing to their peculiar low muttering, rapid utterance, and guttural expression." Anything that can be known of their origin must be elicited from their distinctive religious and ceremonial acts, which present many peculiarities, but coincide in several important points with those of the Hindu (*i.e.* Brahmanic) inhabitants of the neighbouring plains. So in polyandry, in cremation of the dead, in laying out the dead body in state, and chanting lamentations over it, and throwing coloured grain at the corpse; also in the sacred groves, where sanctified persons called *palal* (= milkmen), like the Sanskrit *gurus*, dwell in solitary—and starving—blessedness. A striking confirmation of these hints is found in a Toda tradition quoted from Captain Harkness, which says that about the time of Ravana, the demon-king of Lanka or Ceylon, who in the oldest Sanskrit epic, the Rāmāyana, carries off Sita, the lovely and faithful wife of Rāma, the hero, they inhabited the low country; "that, being afterwards unable to bear the severities imposed upon them by the successful Ravan, they fled to these mountains as a place of refuge, driving their herds before them, carrying their females and children on their shoulders, and vowing to wear no covering on their heads till they had wreaked their vengeance on their oppressors." As, in the Rāmāyana, Ravana is representative of the Dravidian (South Indian) race, in opposition to Rāma and Bhārata, types of the Aryan, this legend, in fact, declares the identity of race between the Todas and the (now Brahmanical) population of the plains.

Dr. Shortt next describes the Kurumbas, who are savages, and supposed to be the aborigines of Southern India, before the incursion of the Dravidian race. For this belief there seems to be some ground in their peculiar physiognomy ("they are, as a body, sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth, and thick lips—frequently saliva dribbles away from their mouths"), wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies, fondness for the very rudest ornaments; and notably in the fact that they are resorted to by other tribes, such as the Badagas, to perform priestly or magical functions for them. They are regarded with awe, even by the Todas, as great adepts in the black art. They scarcely cultivate the ground at all, live in villages secluded in glens or forests, sometimes when driven by necessity ensnare animals for food, have no marriage ceremony, and only crude notions of a Superior Being. One point of great interest is hinted at:—"They are said to hold in respect, and make offerings at, the different cairns and cromlechs met with on these hills; from which it is believed that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of their ancestors." As these monuments of the highest antiquity, first noticed in our country, and popularly ascribed to the Celts or ancient Britons as the earliest known inhabitants, have since been found not only throughout Scandinavia, but traced across Russia to the Caucasus, and thence into the south of India, whatever light is thrown on their builders in one part must be reflected on their origin in every other. That they are ante-Aryan seems highly probable; but if they are the work of an aboriginal (ante-Dravidian as well as ante-Aryan) Indian tribe, how wonderfully is their antiquity enhanced! That the Kurumbas formerly spread over a much larger territory than now is evident, if the Coromandel coast is named from them.

The next occupiers of the hills after the Todas are acknowledged to be the Kotars, who are said to be descended from a low caste of the plain. They excite disgust from eating carrion, but are a very remarkable and superior class in many ways. They are by far the most industrious of the Hill-Tribes, engaging both in agriculture and handicrafts; skilful in the latter, as carpenters, smiths, curriers, &c., and performing many menial offices to the Todas

and Badagas. They pay the *goodoo* tribute to the Todas, but exact from the Bagdags fees for services rendered. They speak a dialect of Canarese, like the Todas, but without their peculiar guttural expression. They are well made, of a tolerable height, rather good features, and light copper skin. Their worship seems to embody indistinct ideas of Shiva and his wife.

The Badagas constitute the largest part of the hill population; but we cannot speak in detail of them, or of the last tribe, the Irulas. We hope that our comment may induce many readers to study Dr. Shortt's paper for themselves.

The only other paper in this volume which we can notice is on "the Varini of Tacitus, or Warings, and their relations to English Ethnology." It is by Mr. Hyde Clarke, but it follows so naturally in the track of Mr. H. H. Howorth's able paper in the preceding volume, on "The Origin of the Norsemen," that it might almost be from the same hand. The combination of "Angli et Varini" in the *Germania* suggested to Mr. Clarke to discover who these Varini were, and to avail himself of the hint given by Tacitus coupling them with the Angles. We cannot follow him through a maze of evidence from Pliny, Bede, Procopius, and a host of less known authorities, but must state simply that they appear first as neighbours of the Jutes, Saxons, Frisians, Angles, Rugians, and other tribes on the North Sea, the Baltic, and the intervening peninsula. From this close proximity to the Angles it is exceedingly probable that they took part with these in the invasion of Britain. Many geographical names remain in apparent attestation of this—such as *Warwick*, *Warrington*, *Werrington*, *Warnford*, *Warnham*, and *Warnborough*, cited by Mr. Clarke, to which might probably be added many others, such as *Waring*, *Wareham*. That they also penetrated to the Arctic Sea is suggested by the name *Vavanger Fjord*, which forms the northern boundary of Norway and Russia. But a more brilliant destiny awaited them on their native Baltic. That sea was in the ninth century called the *Waring Sea*, and was so completely under their control that they took tribute from the Slavonic tribes on its coasts. They also penetrated up the Russian rivers, and found a way to Byzantium and Greece. They so terrified the people, and threw the country into such confusion, that to restore order they were invited to come and rule it. This is perhaps the most striking instance afforded by history of the almost universal incapacity of the Slavonians for bearing rule. "Our country is great, and everything is in abundance, but order and justice are wanting; come and take possession of the soil, and govern us." They sent three brother princes, the eldest of whom was the celebrated first ruler of the Russians, Rurik, from whom all later sovereigns seek to establish their descent. Rurik is said by Nestor to belong "to the kind of Warings called Russians, as others are called Swedes, Northmen, English, and Goths." This makes Waring a very generic term indeed, even more so than Scandinavian. But Nestor must have taken "Russian" (as Mr. Clarke does) as the equivalent of the ancient Rugii, who gave their name to the island of Rugen: which seems to us doubtful, considering the claim of the land still called *Rus* (Ruthenia, the south-western provinces of Russia) to this name. We have not space to give an abstract of Mr. Clarke's graphic account of the great part played by the Warings in the Byzantine Empire, and even as far as the Caucasus. He wishes to establish their claim to be "English," as next-door neighbours to the Angles on the Baltic, and to abolish the Scandinavian character which has been assigned to them, especially by Professor Rafn of Copenhagen. If their raids remind us more of the Norsemen than of the steady Saxons, the following point outweighs any idea of their nationality which might be based on that consideration:—

In Russia the rights of the Warings as a race were recognised, and their most curious monuments are their laws. These make a distinction between the Waring and the Slavonian, and they are framed exactly like the laws of the "Angli et Werrini," and the Anglo-Saxon laws of the same time, murder and all other offences being commutable by a wergeld or money fine, the oath of a Waring being received as evidence of innocence by compurgation, and questions of debt being referred to a jury of twelve. . . . Such is defined in the laws of Jaroslaw, and the like in the laws of Isiaslaw, Vsevolod, and Swithoslaw, passed at a Wit-nmete. This latter code recites the laws of frankpledge and streetward.

DOUBLES AND QUILTS.*

IT would be a misuse of words to call this a good novel, or even to call it a novel of any kind, good or bad. It is a sort of half *vaudeville*, half *jeu d'esprit*, and as such it is not altogether unworthy of *Blackwood's Magazine*, in which it originally appeared. It is written in an agreeable, springy, sometimes almost racy style, reminding one both of Whyte Melville and of Guy Livingstone. But it has not the promise of Whyte Melville's earlier, nor the execution of his better, novels, and though free from the grotesque ferocity and virility of Guy Livingstone, it wants the verve and go of his best productions. It is a milder mixture altogether, and for ordinary drawing-room reading it may be none the worse for that. It has also the advantage of being pleasantly printed, and it is all contained in two short volumes, so that, if a man has half an hour to spare in which he has absolutely nothing to do, he might spend it more unpleasantly than on *Doubles and Quits*. It would be rather more amusing to read at a railway station, for instance, waiting for a train, than the advertisements

on the walls; and an attentive reader would get about as much knowledge of military life out of it as an ordinary foreigner would get of the inside of London by studying the map of the underground railway which the Directors have so thoughtfully provided at all the Metropolitan stations. It would be hardly honest to promise anybody any more from the book, but after all, half an hour's amusement, even of the mildest form, is something to get out of six hundred pages.

The idea of the piece—for plot it cannot be called—is something of this sort. There are a couple of men, Bruce and Burridge by name, the one a captain in the Line, the other a captain in the "Heavies," and these two captains are the exact counterpart of one another. There are also a couple of young ladies, Miss Mary Richmond, and her cousin, Lady Rose O'Shea; and Captain Burridge is engaged to Mary, and Captain Bruce is in love with Rose. But unfortunately Captain Burridge is a married man, and his wife, a disreputable broken-down actress whom he had been entrapped to marry when a boy, is still alive. The story hinges on the successful efforts made by the one captain to free the other of this woman, by proving that she was married to a stage carpenter before she met her present husband. He succeeds at last, and in return for his good services the lady who is engaged to Captain Burridge prevails upon her not unwilling cousin to look favourably upon Captain Bruce. And so they are all married, and live happily for ever after.

Such is the story, slight and commonplace in all conscience, but worked out, in the first volume at least, with a certain sprightliness and geniality. It would be the merest flattery to give Captain Lockhart credit for any of the characteristics of a novelist beyond those of sprightliness and geniality, and, we may add, a talent for appreciating "situations." He would be the first to see through any such flattery. But these characteristics he possesses, and he makes the most of them. He hardly professes to give his mind seriously to the construction of plot, or to analysis or delineation of character. Mary Richmond is a name and nothing more, and Captain Burridge a lay figure. There are some indications of nature and reality in the sketch of Lady Rose, and, so far as they go, they are agreeable, but they are only half elaborated. Captain Bruce has not much more character than his "double." In this respect the author is consistent, and he may be dramatically accurate in his representation of the ordinary captain, whether in the cavalry or infantry; but consistency and accuracy of this kind do not produce amusing characters, and do not make up an interesting novel. And as it is with the actors in the drama, so it is with the plan of it. The idea of a man's "double" being used as a peg on which to hang a number of incidents, though not original, is in a manner new, and capable of successful handling. But here the incidents are not grouped together with effect; the author does not make the most of them, and does not make them fit into the piece. They are pitchforked up anyhow, and hang about the peg awkwardly and without adjustment. He seems to have set himself down to knock off pleasantly a number of widely-printed pages in the easiest manner possible, and so far he has succeeded. The process could not have occupied much time, and could not have taken much out of him; and so far he may be congratulated. Some of the isolated scenes, such as the first *tête-à-tête* with Lady Rose in the garden, and the captain's cross-examination of himself as to whether or not he is in love, are pretty well done, and probably took some trouble to write. Here and there, too, we find a certain novelty of expression and a way of putting things which are amusing, such as the description of Mrs. Lewis "communicating her ideas in short sentences, delivered in one unvarying key, and in the warily staccato manner of a person reading the Psalms, and afraid of being run into by the responses." The weariness and monotony also of the ordinary mess-dinner, and the subaltern's conversation thereat, to a man whose mind has just awakened to an appreciation of that most melancholy of all forms of festivity, are well described, and will be appreciated by many sympathizing spirits.

But, as a foil to these good points in the book, there is a great deal that is very bad. The second volume almost entirely breaks down. There is only one good scene in it, the interview with the stage carpenter; and there are a great many that are worse than commonplace. The electro-biological scenes are contemptible, and Burridge's story is long-winded and wearisome. These two episodes detract much from the worth of the book, and are unworthy of Captain Lockhart's ability. So also is his tendency to run into an old-fashioned mannerism affected by writers of the *Blackwood* school, which is tedious to educated people. It shows itself in Bulwer and Aytoun and Lever, and others of that stamp, and is in high favour with Guy Livingstone. It consists of the constant half-jocular allusion to classical subjects, and the damnable iteration of stale classical quotations, chiefly from Horace. It surely does not coincide with most men's experience of captains in the Heavies to find them continually talking of Heró and Aphrodité and Jupiter Opt. Max., or of Acheron and Phlegethon and Styx and Lethe. Yet these two captains are always at it. In the mess-room of familiar life men do not speak of the morning bird as the "pervigil ales," nor of empty soda-water bottles as "reliquie Danaüm," nor of their brother-officers as being mere "nati consumere fruges." When they bid farewell to persons of the other sex, and tell them that they are going down to Aldershot to-morrow, they do not in real life say "cras ingens iterabimus æquor"; and if they did, it would

* *Doubles and Quits*. By Laurence W. M. Lockhart, late Captain 92nd Highlanders. With Twelve Illustrations by Sylvestria. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1869.

not be true; and if it were true, the ladies would not understand them. Neither do they, so far at least as our experience goes, when speaking to their friends of the fickleness of a woman, characterize her as "varium et mutabile semper." They may possibly entertain such ideas of the sex, but if they do, they won't convey them to their friends in quotations from the Latin Grammar. They are much more likely to do it in short, emphatic, and familiar Saxon. After a good deal of this sort of thing the most patient reader gets bored, and feels inclined to re-echo the words of Captain Burridge, "Oh, bother the dead languages! Keep your spirits up, and don't let us spend the night talking metaphysics in Soho."

This book, then, shows, as we have said, smart writing, geniality, and an appreciation of "situations"—all valuable qualities in the present day for a man who is willing to write for the stage, but by no means the first thing needful in a novelist. If Mr. Robertson, for instance, had taken to novel-writing in the magazines, he would have produced something like *Doubles and Quits*—a shade more sentimental perhaps, and several shades more vulgar. But he has turned his talent for situations to much more profitable account by the production of *Caste and School*, and the rest of the series of his dramas. In like manner Captain Lockhart might turn out "very excellent fooling" if he were to take to stage-writing. Even as it is, *Doubles and Quits* might be made to do well for drawing-room theatricals. The central idea is admirably adapted for the grouping of ludicrous incidents around it. Of course it is not original, and it requires the stage to show it to advantage. The *Comedy of Errors* makes one laugh when it happens—which is very rare—to be well acted. It does not particularly amuse one to read about the two Dromios and the two Antipholi. So, in Captain Lockhart's drama, one could imagine an audience being tickled by the resemblance of the Captains if they were well made-up, by their first meeting—one of the best scenes in the book—and by the disentanglement of all their mutual troubles. But the fun is lost in the narrative, and it would be hardly true to say that it is much helped by the pictures by "Sylvestris." Of these perhaps the less said the better. No doubt the drawing of them amused "Sylvestris," just as the writing of the book amused the author. "Sylvestris," so far as we know, is unknown to fame. Possibly, therefore, these drawings are the first efforts of this artist. As such they are creditable enough, or rather some of them. They would have been delightful *souvenirs* of pleasant work had they been kept to ornament a dozen, or perhaps fifteen, copies issued for private circulation. But when they are given to the public they become subject to criticism, and the kindest critic would hardly use the language of commendation, if he had a conscience. The pictures do not help us much to realize Captain Lockhart's "situations." They want the stage, and its accessories and tricks; and if the author has nothing of a more engrossing character in hand, it might be worthy of his consideration whether he would not spend the summer between now and the shooting season in converting his novel into a play. *Doubles and Quits* produced at the Prince of Wales's or the Gaiety might be a success, but the repetition of it or anything like it in *Blackwood's Magazine* must be a failure.

LABOURERS' COTTAGES.*

THE *Book of the Landed Estate*, amongst much other valuable matter, contains some brief but sound remarks and suggestions touching the condition and accommodation of the agricultural labourer. And there are not wanting, in the first Report of the "Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture," and in the *Cottage Plans* recently put forth by Lord Cawdor, public and private evidences of an increased interest in this vital subject. It is no longer an unchallenged assumption that labourers' cottages need be little better than dog-kennels and cowsheds; and in the serious contemplation, by landlords and agents, of such questions as "estate schools," and cottage gardens and allotments, as well as the provision of decent sleeping arrangements for cottagers and their families, one recognises an awakening to the calls of duty and ownership which cannot fail to be thrice blest in its results.

Upon a question the bearing of which on the comfort of the rural labourer is not unimportant we do not get any help from Mr. Brown, nor, though from the nature of his publication it was hardly to be expected, from Lord Cawdor—the question, we mean, of the expediency of letting the cottages on a farm to the tenant, along with his fields and farm-buildings. The question has two aspects. The farmer has a very cogent plea for such an arrangement when he urges the difficulty of otherwise retaining his farm-labourers, who in proportion to their ignorance and wilfulness are apt to transfer their services at short notice to another farm, a railway, or the ironworks. Sparse populations especially seem to offer a premium to fickleness. If a cottager rents immediately under his squire, and is a decent sort of man, it would be a harsh measure to give him notice for preferring the service of a farmer off the estate to one upon it; and supposing the notice to

be served, the farmer lacks, until the term of the notice expires, not only a labourer, but a cottage into which to put him. If, however, a cottage lets with the farm, an arrangement of monthly pay and a month's notice precludes sudden defections, or, in any case, prevents their being needlessly vexatious to either party. Much will depend in such cases on the stipulations as to keeping the cottage in repair. In our experience this is still the landlord's function, even when he allows his tenant to sublet. In many respects it is better that the tenant should rent directly under his squire; and Lord Leicester's plan, as noticed in Mr. Frazer's Report to the Commission above referred to, of having all his cottages held direct from himself, but allowing his tenants to nominate to the cottages adjacent to their farms, subject to his agent's approval, is perhaps the best solution; especially if a stipulation is agreed to that the cottager shall quit the cottage so soon as he leaves the farmer's service.

Still there is much to be said for the other course, nor will the matter be very important if the landlord is possessed with a due sense of his responsibility, not only for the maintenance of the cottage, but for the comfort and kind treatment of the cottager. The question, in short, narrows itself into a struggle between a perfect and an imperfect sense of duty. The worst cases of neglect arise out of acquiescence, from indolence or constraint, in the legacy of wrongs bequeathed from father to son. And, such being the case, it is more useful to cast about for practical solutions of the cottage-building difficulty, and to devise means for improving and restoring what is dilapidated, at the least absolute loss (for gain, even of the slightest kind, is confessedly out of the question), than, as is too much the fashion with lockers-on, to stigmatize the landlords as a class for the faults of individual members of it. When one hears of six children lying in the sole sleeping-room of a hovel, five down with scarlet-fever, and the sixth certain to come in for it next, "the stone might cry out of the wall and the beam out of the timber answer it" if the press failed to expose such grievous indifference to life and health, and did not earnestly agitate for a wide reformation in the housing of the rural labourer. Yet, if theoretical reformers of this terrible abuse were to become landlords to-morrow, they would find their philanthropy sorely puzzled where and how to begin. There is no denying that our fathers went too much on the principle that the state of things to which they had been accustomed would last their time, and were content to let bad run to worse. Hence, on many estates there exist deserted and roofless hovels, and on others inhabited huts that are literally unfit for the shelter of human beings. In such cases the work has to be begun *de novo*, and the large question is opened, what should be the cost of a pair of plain and unornamental cottages, with proper sanitary appliances and a due regard to convenience and comfort? A pair of cottages, or a block of cottages, is obviously cheaper, in proportion, than a single one; and it is now generally admitted that it is not an absolute *sine quâ non* to have three bedrooms to each dwelling. Probably, in a group of three cottages, it would suffice to have one with three, and the others with two each, especially if a roomy landing were provided which at an exigency might supply an additional sleeping place. It is not wise to offer a temptation to cottagers to take lodgers "on the sly"—a course to which they are apt to resort, even where a provision against taking lodgers has been expressly agreed upon. But, even so, and after the strictest economy consistent with essential requirements, we believe that (notwithstanding exceptional instances, such as we find in the marvellously cheap plans of Lord Cawdor, in one or two cases quoted by Mr. Frazer, and in the case of the pair of cottages erected by Mr. Brown for Major Stapylton, *Book of Landed Estates*, p. 493, which cost 240*l.*) it will be hard to find a pair of cottages that have been built under a cost of 260*l.*; and this sum is twenty pounds less than what "the Report of the Committee of the Society of Arts," appointed in 1864, considered the minimum. This is manifestly an outlay for which the landlord cannot expect interest from the cottagers' rents, though it is quite possible that, with the better class of farmers, there might be a willingness to pay such interest, in addition to the rent of their farms, for the sake of good cottages and such labourers as would seek to occupy them. But in this case the cottage must necessarily be let with the farm; nor should we think that, where a farmer was enlightened enough to value good cottages on his farm, there would be any great harm in such an arrangement. All this presupposes a thoroughly good understanding between landlord and tenant; and we suspect that, however it may seem to outsiders, there is more of this in the agricultural counties than is often supposed. If a tenant is met half-way, he is not more unreasonable than other people; and the squire who allows him a voice in the well-ordering of his estate and neighbourhood does much towards modifying, and in time rubbing off, his class prejudices. What is wanted in the building of cottages *de novo* on an estate is previous deliberation as to the fittest site, and this should be open to all concerned. In the best and most "model" arrangements it will be found that the cottages of an estate are thrown as much as possible together, near to the church, and, if it may be, with a Sunday or daily school hard at hand. If a landlord has all his work to do, he may wisely eschew the plan of outlying tenements, and cottages near a wood, supposed to be safeguards against poachers, but really handy spots for the woodstealer, the trespasser—in short, the Arab of your country desert. But the disposition of cottages is seldom so much in a landlord's hands. He is guided very much by what he finds in existence; and though this is not conducive to the best

* *The Book of the Landed Estate*. By Robert E. Brown, Factor and Land Agent. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1869.

Cottage Plans. Dedicated to the Landowners of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. By John Frederick Vaughan, Earl of Cawdor. London: W. Ridgway. 1869.

theoretical arrangement, we are far from sure that it is not the most wholesome fact in the future of cottage-building.

The practical common-sense wisdom of Lord Palmerston never displayed itself more characteristically than when, at a county agricultural meeting, instead of binding burdens upon the squires that they could not bear, he set himself to point out how much might be made of many old tumble-down cottages, which haply had been long condemned and remained untenanted till it suited the landlord's purse to replace them. It is surprising how far fifty pounds will go in the work of restoration, especially where, as is usual in agricultural counties, the ordinary materials are within easy reach. We have in our mind's eye half a score of ruinous heaps of timber, tiles, and wattling, which the discerning glance of a country builder has shown him how to reconstruct and renovate so that they will last at least another fifty years. Not uncommonly the old timbers are marvellously sound; better, firmer, and more lasting than the half-seasoned larch or poplar which is too apt to be thrust into a modern cottage.

Mr. Brown, in p. 256, tells his readers that in taking down in 1868 a cottage built in 1760, he found oak beams so perfectly sound, that he used them in constructing a new cottage; and we can corroborate his experience, having found precisely the same to be the case with timbers of a cottage erected in 1715. Then the earthen floor requires to be replaced by flags or boards—the roof to be raised so as to allow ventilation in the sleeping rooms, which a little management subdivides successfully. The Broseley tile supersedes the broken moss-grown slate, or the mouldering dripping thatch. A lean-to supplies pantry and coal-place, which under the old *régime* were idle superfluities; and if two or three cottages lie close together, a detached building to serve for a joint scullery and washhouse, with other necessary adjuncts, helps to make a comfortable dwelling of what aforesaid was only comparable to a "den." In counties where most of the cottages are composed of brick-noggin walls, the picturesque effect is not a little enhanced by the bestowal of an extra pound or two upon blackening the timbers, and whitewashing the bricks; an extravagance which may be condoned on the score of its being both an earnest of attention to cottage-restoration, and also an index to the sanitary condition of the occupants. It is not likely that the inside of the platter will be, in such cases, less cared for than the outside. This, then, is a step in the cottager's favour, which even the less wealthy landlord may take without risk, and must take if he would be clear of guilt as concerning his poorer brother. It may be taken without risk, for the increased accommodation will justify an increased rent to cover the outlay, and a rent too within the cottager's means. It must be taken by every reflecting landlord, unless indeed his estate is so burdened and encumbered that he ought to sell or let it, or unless he is prepared for the more costly and magnanimous alternative of building up his cottages anew, after the manner of the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Leicester, and other great men who have not disdained to concern themselves with the details of cottage-building, and of providing decent dwellings for agricultural labourers.

Often it will happen that the landlord has no option in the matter, and then the problem is that which Lord Cawdor offers his contribution towards solving—how to provide the agricultural labourer with decent accommodation at the least cost. Mr. Brown lays down two laws as to cottage-building which we should be sorry to think unalterable—namely, that the number of bed-rooms should in no case be less than three; and that no home timber should be used, unless oak. The former dictum is practically untenable, and is well met by a suggestion recorded by Mr. Frazer, that as the inhabitants of a pair of cottages will fluctuate in number, if one house has two, and the other three, bed-rooms, a little contrivance, by stopping up one door-way and opening another, will attach the fifth room to that tenement which happens from time to time to require it. As to the latter dictum, it is not enough to say that the sale of home timber will pay the cost of foreign, unless the consideration be first had of easy or awkward railway communication. But Mr. Brown gives good hints as to points of detail—e.g., slates *v.* tiles, the shape of windows, handy cottage "kitchens," and ventilation. He recognises cottages of one story, with three bed-rooms, besides a kitchen, &c.; and also two-storied cottages with the same accommodation; but his plans are for the latter. His plainer pair of cottages is estimated to cost 240*l.*

Several of Lord Cawdor's plans contemplate a single story, with three bed-rooms; and, according to more than one authority, labourers' wives prefer these, because their children and household cares are thus closer about them. The objections to this arrangement seem to be, deficient privacy, and additional expense of foundations and roofing. But whether one-storied or two-storied, the drawback to Lord Cawdor's cottage plans is that—paradoxical as it may seem—they are *too cheap*. They have, in several instances, the central chimney-stack, the plastered walls, the essential comforts and conveniences, which mark a model cottage; and yet they are so cheap that one is set wondering why the Duke of Bedford, with his princely building establishment—which includes a steam-engine of 25-horse power, and two hundred labourers—cannot turn out a couple of cottages at less than half as much again. No one who knows Pembrokeshire will be disposed to deny it any praise within the bounds of reason; it must be taken into account, too, that it lies very handy to the sea, and must get its timber cheap; perhaps, too, labour is not in it very costly; but it must be something approaching fairly-

land—something very un-English, to say the least—if it can turn out a pair of cottages of good dimensions, built of rubble stone, ceiled, plastered, with concrete floors downstairs, and ploughed and tongued flooring upstairs, and with three bed-rooms, the largest of very fair size, for the sum of 131*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*, exclusive of haulage. The Earl of Cawdor deserves all the credit of philanthropic zeal and research, but his experience must have been exceptionally favourable in cottage-building; and, in the interests of landowners and labourers alike, we sincerely hope that his estimates are accurate to a fraction. Yet we cannot disguise from ourselves the awkward and militating fact that, whereas he estimates his pair of cottages (No. 7) on an English plan at 205*l.* plus the haulage, an almost exactly similar pair in a county on the Welsh border, with many favourable circumstances, has cost, at the very least, 260*l.* And we note that the "Royal Windsor Society's" cottages, which have the advantage of handy building materials, and should be cheaper, as being built in numbers, cost, at the lowest tender, about 118*l.* per tenement. The cottages of the Enclosure Commissioners average 143*l.* each. Is there, then, any feasible way to cheapen the cost of cottages? Mr. Tall's patent for erecting walls of concrete by a patent apparatus and scaffolding offers a very plausible answer. His walling is shown to cost half the price of bricks and mortar, to be stronger than brickwork, and so smooth that, for houses constructed with it, one coat of internal plaster will suffice. These walls, being perfectly solid and made of concrete which is one part Portland cement to five parts large gravel, deaden sound, defy mice and rats, and admit of invisible rain-spouting, formed by removable wooden cores placed in them before the cement is set. With clay or gravel at hand, Mr. Tall avouches that four-roomed cottages of good dimensions can be built with this patent for 50*l.* each. The Commissioners to inquire into the "Employment of Young Persons and Women in Agriculture" are inclined to pronounce unfavourably upon Mr. Tall's patent (see Report, p. lix.), chiefly because, owing to the cost of the patent apparatus, Mr. Newton, C.E., who has constructed buildings under Mr. Tall, "does not think it applicable to agricultural cottages unless built in considerable numbers together." They prefer the application of concrete to building purposes brought into notice by Mr. B. Nicoll, of Regent Street—a development of his patent for giving increased power to the ordinary "sewing-machine." According to this plan, slabs are formed of the size of nine feet by three, and of a thickness of three inches, arising from compression of several layers. Its centre is a fabric of straw sewed together by a large "sewing machine," and compressed at the same time to one inch thickness by rollers. This is steeped in silicate, to make it fireproof, and set in a frame of one-inch angle-iron, with cross-bars of iron at intervals welded to it. Each surface of the straw is coated with small gravel, held together by Seyssel asphalt, and small spaces are left for nut-screws, to fasten the slabs together, when put into their place in the building. "When so fixed—the lower edge having been first imbedded in a foundation of concrete—an external coat is applied of concrete made with the best Portland cement in the proportion of one of cement to six of broken stone; and an internal coating half an inch thick." The result is said to be a fabric three inches thick, but as strong as nine-inch bonded brickwork, impervious to vermin, warm in winter, and cool in summer. Roofs, it appears, can be made of similar slabs, of a thinner texture; and Mr. Nicoll adopts other contrivances, as to joiners' and glaziers' work, and as to flues, which must cheapen cottage-building. According to Mr. Nicoll's architect, a three bed-roomed single-story cottage can be built on this plan for 85*l.* Regarding the designs of such cottages, appended to the blue-book, aesthetically, we should say at once "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam!*" Give us a cottage that looks like a cottage at an extra cost of 15*l.* or so.

But if either this plan, or Mr. Tall's, which in spite of adverse judgments from those in authority we are disposed to prefer, can be so utilized as to conduce to the better housing of the labourer at a moderate outlay, this generation will have gone far towards solving one of the knottiest problems of modern philanthropy.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

THE expectation naturally aroused by the announcement of a correspondence between Catharine II. and Joseph II.* will not be disappointed by this last publication of the indefatigable M. von Arneth. The subjects treated are of real importance, and both sovereigns bear their part in a manner worthy of their celebrity. The originals of nearly all the letters are autographic, and the style and sentiments are in the highest degree characteristic. As Von Arneth observes, each correspondent seems to have given the other credit for boundless vanity, and the result is a friendly contest for the prize of elegant adulation. Catharine undoubtedly carries off the palm. Her letters are models of grace and point, of ingenious turns and felicitous expression. It seems extraordinary how the little rustic princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who had lived since the age of sixteen at the semi-barbarous Court of Russia, should have so completely imbibed the *esprit français*. Joseph's letters are also extremely well written, but betray a certain bluntness and constraint in comparison with Catharine's. These

* *Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland. Ihr Briefwechsel, herausgegeben von Alfred Ritter von Arneth. Wien: Braumüller. London: Nutt.*

elegant compliments served to mask serious designs on both sides. The same *entente cordiale* then existed between Russia and Austria as now prevails between the former Power and the latter's successful rival. Joseph was thoroughly convinced that the alliance of Russia was necessary to his country, and the shrewder Catharine pushed on her approaches against Turkey under pretext of co-operation with him. These letters reveal a concerted scheme for the partition of Turkey in Europe. Russia was to advance her frontier to the Bog; Austria was to have Servia; the Danubian Principalities were to be made an independent kingdom under a prince of the Greek Church, i.e., one devoted to Russia; Catharine's second grandson was to reign at Constantinople. We have seen certain items of this programme carried out, but Austria is in our day as anxious to preserve Turkey as she formerly was to destroy it. It must also strike all readers that the graphic picture of Turkish decay here drawn by Catharine is no longer true to the same extent, and that the most alarming symptom of it noted by her sagacity—the insubordination of the local governors—has been completely remedied. Catharine would probably be surprised, could she revisit the earth, to find that her favourite idea had made so little progress; but she would also find the attitude of Russia unaltered, although its stealthy advance is now made under cover of Prussia, instead of Austria. Turkish affairs, although the most important, are not the only subjects treated. Part of the correspondence turns upon a project of Joseph's for the marriage of the Grand Duke Paul's sister-in-law to his nephew Francis. It is amusing to find Catharine suggesting to him that, while she established herself as head of the Greek Church at Constantinople, he might similarly instal himself at Rome, with the Pope for his vicar in matters ecclesiastical. She would no doubt have gladly seen him entangled with so chimerical a project. Joseph's reign, as is known, closed in adversity. The last letter he received from Catharine was an assurance of sympathy, and a promise of steady support to his successor; and his reply, almost the last letter he ever wrote, is an effusion of the warmest gratitude.

A biography of Dr. von Martius*, the renowned traveller in Brazil, is in every way a creditable work, but is chiefly remarkable as one of the most beautiful productions of the modern German press. Martius was a fine specimen of the *genus savant*, full of physical and intellectual vigour, and admirably qualified to represent Bavarian science with dignity on public occasions. A few pages suffice to render ample justice to his merits in these respects. As there is little else to mention except his adventures in Brazil, the biography mainly consists of an abridgment of the voluminous narrative in which these are detailed.

The eminent astronomer Encke never undertook a journey to the stars, and his biography is accordingly even less eventful than that of Von Martius. His Life by Dr. Bruhns† is, however, a somewhat important contribution to the history of astronomy, from its copious chronological data respecting the progress of discovery in connexion with him and his scientific colleagues. It is also pleasing to find the veteran astronomer presented under so favourable a light.

The present is hardly a propitious period for the publication of Schelling's correspondence‡, but to have awaited a more favourable time might have been equivalent to an indefinite postponement. Schelling's philosophy labours under a twofold disadvantage in our day. Not only is Germany sated with abstract speculation, but imaginative literature is likewise at an exceedingly low ebb. The logical acuteness of Hegel and the mathematical consistency of Spinoza may render their systems acceptable, or at least interesting, to the disciples of the reigning schools; but Schelling, who addresses himself to poetical temperaments, and whose system rose and set with the most brilliant epoch of German imaginative literature, is too much at variance with the tendencies of the times to expect recognition in any quarter. A reaction will no doubt ensue some day, and the renewal of interest in Schelling's philosophical speculations will secure attention for these epistolary records of his life. The present volume begins with a biography of his youthful period, which is neither so full nor so graphic as might have been desired. The point chiefly brought out in it is Schelling's extraordinary intellectual precocity. The correspondence extends from 1796 to 1803, the date of his appointment as professor at Munich. The most interesting letters are those between him and the elder Schlegel; they are lively and pointed, but have more reference to personal than to literary or philosophical matters. More important as illustrations of Schelling's philosophy are the dithyrambic effusions of his enthusiastic disciple, H. Steffens. These principally relate to his ideas on natural philosophy, which have proved fruitful of results in the hands of others. Indeed this may be said of his ideas in general. "No one," observes Mr. J. D. Morell, "who compares the philosophic method of Schelling with the 'Philosophie positive' of Auguste Comte, can have the slightest hesitation as to the source from which the latter virtually sprang. The fundamental idea is indeed precisely the same as that of Schelling, with this difference only, that the idealistic lan-

guage of the German speculator is here translated into the more ordinary language of physical science."

Alfred von Kremer's work on "The Ruling Ideas of Islamism"§ is of singular interest. Few persons appreciate the vigour of religious speculation among Mohammedan nations. We are accustomed to think of Islamism as intellectual stagnation, the monotonous repetition of two sterile dogmas. This may be true of Mohammedan orthodoxy, which is in the nature of things limited and unprogressive; but how far it is from adequately representing the religious thought of Western Asia is evinced by Von Kremer's interminable list of the prophets, sages, scholars, visionaries, anchorites, and rationalists who have at various times arisen in the character of antagonists to it. The friendly relations between the early Mohammedan ascetics and the Christian monks are very curious. Kremer ascribes to Christian monachism a considerable influence on the development of Mohammedanism in Arabia, and is of opinion that Buddhist monks exercised a corresponding influence in Persia. One of the most interesting chapters of his work is devoted to the recent movement of El Báb in the latter country. It is within our knowledge that arrests are made even in Egypt, of Persians suspected of belonging to his sect. He was undoubtedly a man of insight and genius. Another important section treats of the Mutazili, or Rationalists, the Protestants of Islam. These asserted the doctrine of free will in opposition to fatalism, and denounced the anthropomorphic conceptions of the orthodox. For a brief space they were the dominant party, and the era of their preponderance is that of the highest development of Arabic civilization. Von Kremer anticipates that their ideas will revive, and that the Oriental world will be elevated by them to intellectual equality with the world of Europe.

It is a somewhat violent transition from the fanciful speculation and impassioned mysticism of the East to the erudite sobriety of "the judicious Hooker,"† an analysis of whose great work has been carefully prepared by Dr. K. H. Sack. Dr. Sack's plan includes the addition of much interesting illustrative matter, and a discussion of the genuineness of the last three books of Hooker's work. The pains he has thus devoted to a great English author merit cordial acknowledgment. It is needless to remark, however, that the peculiar phase of controversy represented by Hooker can have merely an historical interest for Continental Protestants.

The object of an essay on the treatise known as the fourth book of the Maccabees‡, and usually attributed in the MSS. to Josephus, is to show that it is a Jewish sermon of the first century. The writer does not attribute it to Josephus, but he rates its merit very high. He considers it a significant instance of the approximation of Jewish and Greek philosophy, and points out that St. Ambrose and others of the Fathers have been largely indebted to it. He has added several excursions on collateral points, and bestowed much pains on the restoration of the text.

The "Policy of the Popes," by R. Baxmann§, is in effect a history of the relations of the Papacy to the secular power from Gregory I. to Gregory VII. A more interesting subject could hardly be proposed to the historian, and Herr Baxmann has treated it most ably, and quite as satisfactorily as the restricted scale of his work allows. He is a Protestant, but appears to be free from every trace of polemical bias. It is only to be regretted that the subject is hardly completed. A comprehensive view of the rise of the Popes' power should terminate, not with Gregory VII., by whom the theory of Papal supremacy was fully elaborated, but with Innocent III., under whom it actually prevailed in practice. The correlative history of the decline of the Papacy would date from the death of the same Pontiff.

Prebendary Venn's biography of St. Francis Xavier|| has been translated with some alterations by Dr. W. Hoffmann, who has prefixed an historical introduction and appendix, so as to convert the work into a general history of Christian missions. The unity of the volume is seriously marred by the disproportionate space accorded on this plan to Xavier. It is impossible that a joint history of Catholic and Protestant missions, by a zealous professor of either creed, should not assume a controversial aspect. Mr. Venn and Dr. Hoffmann, however, appear to us to have sincerely endeavoured to write in a spirit of equity, and to have succeeded as well as the nature of the case would allow.

A "History of the People of Israel," by Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig¶, is distinguished by one merit very unusual in such works—that of extreme condensation. This estimable quality may perhaps be even in excess, but it is still most acceptable, especially as it is accompanied by simplicity of style and sobriety of judgment. Dr. Hitzig treats his materials in a cautious and conservative spirit, equally remote from blind credulity and from the love of fantastic

* *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams.* Von Alfred von Kremer. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Nutt.

† *Richard Hooker, von den Gesetzen des Kirchenregiments im Gegensatz zu den Forderungen der Puritaner.* Von Dr. K. H. Sack. Heidelberg: Winter. London: Nutt.

‡ *Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Verworfenen.* Von Dr. J. Freudenthal. Breslau: Schletter. London: Asher & Co.

§ *Die Politik der Päpste, von Gregor I. bis Gregor VII.* Von R. Baxmann. 2 The. Elberfeld: Friderichs. London: Williams & Norgate.

|| *Franz Xavier.* Ein weltgeschichtliches Missionsbild. Von H. Venn und W. Hoffmann. Wiesbaden: Niedner. London: Nutt.

¶ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel, von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im Jahre 72 nach Christus.* Von Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig. Th. 1. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Nutt.

* *C. F. Ph. von Martius. Ein Lebensbild.* Von Dr. H. Schramm. Bd. 1. Leipzig: Denicke. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Johann Franz Encke. Sein Leben und Wirken, bearbeitet nach dem schriftlichen Nachlass.* Von Dr. C. Bruhns. Leipzig: Günther. London: Nutt.

‡ *Aus Schelling's Leben. In Briefen.* Bd. 1. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Williams & Norgate.

innovation. The most remarkable feature of his work is the extent to which comparative philology is employed as a means of investigation. Some of his speculations, however, in this department appear rather fanciful. He has not made so much use of the recent Assyrian discoveries as might have been expected.

A volume of sermons, by Dr. Schwarz*, and an analysis of the doctrinal portion of the Synoptic Gospels, by Dr. Schwab†, are interesting as indications of the tendencies of Liberal Protestantism in Germany.

Libanius the orator is fully entitled to a special biography from his intellectual and moral eminence, the eventful character of his life, and more particularly from his position as the most brilliant representative of expiring Paganism in the fourth century. Our information respecting him is principally derived from the particulars afforded by his autobiography and voluminous correspondence. The late Dr. Sievers‡ has displayed much skill in fashioning these into a continuous narrative, and indefatigable diligence in illustrating them by quotations derived from a vast variety of sources. There is a somewhat dry and academical air about the book, but it is highly interesting nevertheless. Excursions are added on the condition of schools of rhetoric in the age of Libanius, and on the biography of various personages connected with or mentioned by him.

A series of essays on the Odyssey, by A. Kirchhoff§, chiefly aims at pointing out the inconsistencies in the poem as we have it, and determining how far they are to be attributed to interpolations in the text.

In an interesting essay, Dr. Dunger|| gives an account of the mediæval writers on the Trojan war, especially Joseph of Exeter, Conrad of Würzburg, and Guido de Colonna. He particularly investigates the sources of information resorted to by these writers, which, as they all flourished in Western Europe, must be sought for among Latin authors.

We can but mention three very meritorious commentaries on classical authors:—on Plato's *Cratylus*, by Dr. H. Schmidt¶; on the *Æneid*, by Dr. A. Weidner**; and on *Æschylus*, by R. Westphal††.

A publication on Greek and Sicilian vases, by Otto Benndorf‡‡, promises to be, when complete, a very valuable work. It is to contain about eighty plates, thirteen of which are published. The accompanying letterpress is a model of elegance, both as regards print and paper; the plates are unfortunately, but necessarily, not coloured, the original tints being indicated by shadings. The first part being devoted to Athenian ceramics, the plates mostly represent mere fragments, vases discovered in Attica being seldom entire. One feature of the work is the extent to which modern Athenian museums have been laid under contribution. The text is learned, and at the same time readable.

A very important contribution to the study of archaeology has been made by a catalogue, with detailed descriptions, by Dr. Stephani, of the magnificent collection of ancient vases in the Hermitage Palace, in Russia.§§ This museum is especially remarkable for its number of specimens from the Crimea and the adjacent coasts.

A work on political economy, by Dr. H. Maurus|||, is designed as an introduction to the science, but also contains sketches of social reforms advocated by the author, and discussions on such controverted subjects as Free-trade, a paper currency, co-operation, and credit. In the abuse of the latter, the author sees the cause of all commercial disasters. He is a Protectionist. His views seem to be in general the result of independent thought, and he shows little affinity for any of the leading schools of political economy.

A journal of papers on physiology¶¶ begins with a bulky volume, and promises to prove a repository of valuable information. By far the largest and most elaborate paper is one by G. Valentin,

* *Predigten aus der Gegenwart*. Dritte Sammlung. Von Dr. C. Schwarz. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Die Lehre Jesu, nach den drei ersten Evangelien dargestellt*. Von Dr. M. Schwab. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Nutt.

‡ *Das Leben des Libanius*. Von Dr. G. R. Sievers. Herausgegeben von G. Sievers. Berlin: Weidmann. London: Nutt.

§ *Die Composition der Odyssee*. Gesammelte Aufsätze von A. Kirchhoff. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate.

|| *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihren antiken Quellen*. Von Dr. H. Dunger. Leipzig: Vogel. London: Williams & Norgate.

¶ *Plato's Cratylus*. Erläutert von Dr. H. Schmidt. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. London: Williams & Norgate.

** *Commentar zu Virgil's Aeneis*. Buch I. & II. Von Dr. A. Weidner. Leipzig: Teubner. London: Williams & Norgate.

†† *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus' Tragödien*. Von R. Westphal. Leipzig: Teubner. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡‡ *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*. Herausgegeben von Otto Benndorf. Lief. 1. Berlin: Guttentag. London: Williams & Norgate.

§§ *Die Vasen-Sammlung der kaiserlichen Ermitage*. 2 The. St. Petersburg: Akademie der Wissenschaften. London: Nutt.

||| *Die Grundsätze der Volkswirtschaftslehre vor Standpunkte der sozialen Reform gemeinverständlich entwickelt*. Von Dr. H. Maurus. Heidelberg: Winter. London: Nutt.

¶¶ *Archiv für die gesammte Physiologie des Menschen und der Thiere*. Herausgegeben von Dr. E. F. W. Pflüger. Jahrg. 1. Bonn: Max Cohen & Sohn. London: Nutt.

describing the results of a series of investigations of the poison of arrows employed by American, African, and Malay savages.

Karl Goedeke's history of German imaginative literature* is a very valuable work, uniting the characteristics of a literary history and a bibliography. A memoir of each writer is given, concise but full of matter, and containing everything really necessary for the understanding of his works. Herr Goedeke's criticisms are very clear and precise, and in the main very sound. He is perhaps somewhat too partial to the Swabian school, and is certainly too severe upon Heine. The justice of his strictures is indisputable, but he does not adequately recognise the unique character of Heine's inspiration. The other German poets of the period are the products of certain factors, the influence of which may be distinctly traced in their writings. Heine is himself a factor, his poetry is a new organic type of the art. He belongs to the very rare class of truly original authors, and occupies as such a higher position than the best of the second class, from whom he differs as a fountain differs from a reservoir.

The uninviting appellation of "Moral Tales" seems to have been bestowed upon Paul Heyse's eighth volume† in a fit of pique, the previous volume having been taxed with immorality. The grounds of the imputation, so far as we can collect them from the somewhat vague statement of the writer himself, certainly appear sufficiently frivolous. He hints that he has this time taken care to bring himself down to the level of his readers, and, whether this is really the case, or whether the strain of constant production is beginning to make itself apparent, the tales in this collection are less interesting than usual as narratives, and less admirable as works of art. The first two are altogether too slight. The third contains a very powerful picture of a house devastated by cholera. The fourth is also an excellent story, and is a good example of Heyse's characteristic power of resolving an intricate situation arising out of a problem in morals. The fifth is the most amusing of any, and extremely vivid in its sketches of Corsican manners and scenery, but it is imitated from the Italian of Guerciz.

A series of select translations from the eminent Russian novelist, Turgenyeff‡, opens with his *Fathers and Sons*, an English version of which has been already reviewed in these columns. The personages and ideas depicted are perhaps somewhat too exclusively Russian to attain a wide popularity beyond the writer's own country; but readers of every nation must admire the simplicity of style and sentiment, the faculty of graphic description, and the pregnant conciseness manifested on every page. The translation is sanctioned by the author, and its fidelity is attested by a preface from his pen.

In attempting to write two hundred pages of original epigrams and poetical aphorisms, J. S. Tauber§ has engaged in an undertaking in which success was impossible. Perhaps not half-a-dozen of his pieces fulfil all the requisites of this most difficult species of composition. Even, however, where matter and form are alike defective, there is frequently enough merit in both to show that the writer is above the usual level of satirical versifiers.

Karl Candidus|| is an Alsatian. If all the authors of Alsace write like him, patriotic Germans will have the consolation of knowing that the loss of the province has been unattended by any prejudice to the national literature.

* *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*. Von K. Goedeke. Bd. 3. Hft. 2. Dresden: Ehlermann. London: Nutt.

† *Moralische Novellen*. Von Paul Heyse. Berlin: Hertz. London: Nutt.

‡ *Ivan Turgenjew's ausgewählte Werke*. Autorisirte Ausgabe. Bd. 1. Väter und Söhne. Mitau: Behre. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Quinten. Kleine Gedichte*. Von J. S. Tauber. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Williams & Norgate.

|| *Vermischte Gedichte*. Von Karl Candidus. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Williams & Norgate.

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By Order, W. BESANT, Secretary.

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VICTORIA COLLEGE, Jersey.—The next TERM will commence August 3.—For further information apply to the Rev. W. O. CLARKE, LL.D., Principal.

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No. 18 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE.—The principal portion of the Contents of this Ducal Mansion, including costly Household Furniture, valuable and rare China, and Ornamental Effects, 700 Dozens of Wine, 2,000 Cigars, Linen, Services of China and Glass, Sets of Plate and Race Cups, Carriages, Horses, Harness, and a variety of Effects.

MESSRS. E. & H. LUMLEY have the honour to announce that they have been specially engaged to SELL by AUCTION, on the Premises, 18 Carlton House Terrace, on Monday, June 21, and following days, at Eleven and Twelve each day, the principal portion of the magnificent and costly EFFECTS, the more noticeable being extra-sized Axminster and Velvet-pile Carpets and Rugs, Chimney and Console Glasses of large dimensions, Ormolu and Sevres mantel Clocks and Candelabra, an elegant gilt Drawing-room Suite, upholstered in crimson figured silk, with Curtains and Draperies to match, Ebony, Walnut, Gilt, and other Loo, Carl, Work, and Fancy Tables, Articles de Luxe et de Virtù, a collection of fine and rare old Dutch, Derby, Chelsea, Copenhagen, Berlin, and Sevres China, and a few Marble Figures and Busts, Water-colour Drawings, Artist-proof and other Engravings, a pair of Ebony and Buhl Cabinets, four Clear Cabinets, brass-frame reclining and fancy Chairs. The Appointments of principal and secondary Bedrooms, comprising suites of Walnut, polished Birch, Mahogany, and Gilt Furniture, in Wardrobes, Chests of Drawers, Dressing-tables and Washstands with Fittings, brass tubular and iron Bedsteads, a singularly handsome Cheval Glass of full size in an exquisite Dresden China frame, with subjects of clouds, flowers, and fruit, and an equally important and choice Dressing-glass, and a pair of Mirrors in the same style; Suites of Crotona, Embroidered, Lace, and Rep Curtains, and Draperies and other Fittings; about 2,000 ounces of Plate, comprising services of Spoons, Forks, Knives, and Cups, and some beautifully-modelled Race Cups, Bed and Table Linen, numerous Services of China for dinner and dessert, cut Table Glass, Fittings of Kitchen, a complete Batterie de Cuisine, &c.; 700 Dozens of Wine, in Ports, Sherries, Champagnes, Clarets, and Hocks, and a few dozens of cabinet and rare Wines, including Madeira of 1846 and 1856; 2,000 Cigars of the choicest brands; Seven carriages and broughams, Horses, Two Waggonettes, a Brougham, Barouche, Chariot, and Park Carriage, all by Peters & Sons; several Sets of silver-mounted state and other Harness, Sets of Horse Clothing, and usual Stable Appointments.

On View this day, by Cards; and Catalogues (1s. each) to be had of Messrs. EDWARD & HENRY LUMLEY, Land Agents and Auctioneers, 67 Chancery Lane, and 31 St. James's Street, Piccadilly.

SUSSEX, near a First-class Station and Market Town.—For SALE, an unusually attractive FREEHOLD RESIDENTIAL ESTATE at HUNTING-BOX, with nearly 30 Acres of LAND. The Residence, which is of handsome elevation, is delightfully seated in Park-like grounds, rich old pasture and meadow; tastefully-arranged Pleasure and Kitchen Gardens, Aviary, Peacock Run, Vinery, first-class Stabling, Coach-house, Farmyard, Carriage Drive, &c. The Property possesses a considerable frontage to the Turnpike Road, and is considered to be one of the most unique and compact Estates in Sussex, inexpensive to keep up, yet extremely attractive in all its features. Price £5,500.—Cards of Messrs. AUSTIN & SONS, 8, Abchurch Lane, 1, Beckett Street, London, who have personally inspected the Property, which is in beautiful order.

FREEHOLD GROUND RENTS for SALE, amply Secured upon a good Class of Property, within a few Minutes' Walk of Hackney Station. The Ground Rents amount to upwards of £600 a year, and will be sold as a Whole or in Lots. The Investment is in every respect a good one for Trustees or others.—Messrs. DERRINHAM, TAYSON, & FARMER, 80 Cheapside (16537).

A TRIP TO SWEDEN and back to LONDON in Seven Days, or Five at Sea, Two on Shore, allowing sufficient time (Weather permitting) for a Visit to the magnificent Waterfalls at TROLHÄTTAN, the WÄNERN, WÄTTERN LAKES, STOCKHOLM, and beautiful surrounding scenery; or with more leisure, Norway may be reached by this most convenient route. June, July, and August are the best months for Sweden and Norway.

The unrivalled twin screw Steamers, LOUISA ANN FANNY, 1,190 tons, 260 h.p., Captain WANGBERG, and MARY, 1,000 tons, 250 h.p., Captain BROWN, are appointed to leave the Millwall Docks for Gothenburg alternately every Saturday Morning, returning Thursday Morning. Fares, £3 3s. and £4 1s. 6d. Return Tickets available for One Month.

Apply at Czar's Universal Office, W.; or to PHILLIPS, GRAVES, PHILLIPS, & Co., St. Dunstan's House, Great Tower Street, E.C.

OVERLAND ROUTE.—COMMUNICATION BY STEAM with INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, &c., via EGYPT, from SOUTH-AMPTON and MARSEILLES.

THE PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY BOOK PASSENGERS, and receive Cargo and Parcels, by their Steamers for—

	From Southampton.	From Marseilles.
GIBRALTAR	Every Saturday, at 2 p.m.	—
MAITA	—	—
ALEXANDRIA	—	Every Sunday, at 7 a.m.
ADEN	—	—
BOMBAY	—	—
GALLE	—	—
MADRAS	Saturday, June 12, 2 p.m.	Sunday, June 20, 7 a.m.
CALCUTTA	And every alternate Saturday thereafter.	And every alternate Sunday thereafter.
PENANG	—	—
SINGAPORE	—	—
CHINA	—	—
JAPAN	—	—
AUSTRALIA	Saturday, June 12, 2 p.m.	Sunday, June 20, 7 a.m.
	And every fourth Sunday thereafter.	And every fourth Sunday thereafter.

Arrangements having been made with the British India Steam Navigation Company, Passengers, Cargo and Parcels, are now booked through to any of the Ports touched at by that Company's Steamers.

For full particulars as to Freight, Passage, and Insurance, apply at the Company's Offices, 122 Leadenhall Street, London, or Oriental Place, Southampton.

THOMAS D. MARSHALL'S LADIES' BOOTS, BEAUTIFULLY MADE, AND MODERATE IN PRICE.

Prepared Kid Walking Boots, Elastic or Button, Fancy Toes, Military Heels, 16s. 6d. New Designs in Enamelled or Glove Kid for Croquet or Promenade, 21s. Elastic Horse Boots, Soft Kiosk Kid or Saffronette, 3s. 6d.

A Single Pair Free to any Part of the Kingdom by Sample Post, on receipt of Paper Pattern of Sole, and P.O. for Price, with Sixpence additional. Catalogues post-free.

THOMAS D. MARSHALL, 192 OXFORD STREET, LONDON, W.

THE B. B. NEW PATENT LAWN-MOWER, London made, of high-class Metal only, fitted and finished in a superior style. 10-Inch Machine, £3 5s.; 13-Inch, £4 1s.; 14-Inch, £4 10s.; 16-Inch, £4 10s.

J. B. BROWN & Co., 99 Cannon Street, and 148 Upper Thames Street, London.

SHANKS'S PATENT LAWN MOWERS for 1869. The Patent Improvements recently introduced give SHANKS'S MACHINE

Several Important Advantages possessed by no other Lawn Mower.

PATENT DOUBLE-EDGED SOLE-PLATE, WIND-GUARD, &c. &c.

The unprecedented Sale for 1869, notwithstanding the Dryness of the Season, forms the most convincing testimony how much these Advantages have been appreciated.

ALEXANDER SHANKS & SON beg to intimate that, among all the Exhibitors of Lawn Mowers at the Paris Exhibition, they are the only Firm to whom the Jury awarded a Medal. The Silver Medal then awarded is the highest Prize ever given at any Exhibition for Lawn Mowers.

ALEXANDER SHANKS & SON have for some time past been making the Revolving Cutter of their Machines Self-sharpening—that is, with Steel on both Sides of each Blade, so that when the Cutter becomes blunt by running one way, it can be reversed, thus bringing the opposite or sharp edge of the Cutter to the point of the Sole-Plate. In addition to this, A. S. & S. now make the Sole-Plate or Bottom Blade of their Machine with Two Edges—one in front as usual, and one in reserve at the back; when the front edge gets worn down, the plate has only to be uncrewed and the unused edge brought to the front. It will be seen at a glance that this arrangement enables the cutting parts to last twice as long as in other Machines, where the single-edged Sole-Plate must be entirely renewed when the edge is worn down.

A Wind-Guard has also been introduced to prevent the Mown Grass being blown past the Box during the prevalence of wind.

There is no rubbing with these Machines. The Lawn when mown has a most beautiful appearance, being as smooth as a piece of Velvet.

Prices of Hand Machines, including Carriage to any Railway Station in England:

WIDTH OF CUTTER.	£ s. d.	WIDTH OF CUTTER.	£ s. d.
10-inch Machine	3 10 0	19-inch Machine	7 15 0
12-inch Machine	4 10 0	22-inch Machine	8 10 0
14-inch Machine	5 10 0	24-inch Machine	9 0 0
16-inch Machine	6 10 0		

Illustrated Circulars, containing full Particulars, and with Prices of Machines for Horse, Pony, and Donkey Power, sent free on application.

Every Machine warranted to give ample satisfaction, and if not approved of can be at once returned.

A. SHANKS & SON, DEN'S IRON WORKS, ARBROATH, AND 27 LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON.
A Stock of all Sizes of Lawn Mowers always kept at 27 Leadenhall Street.

HEAL & SON, Tottenham Court Road, W.—The only House in London exclusively for the FURNISHING of BEDROOMS.

IRON and BRASS BEDSTEADS.
HEAL & SON have on Show 130 PATTERNS of IRON and BRASS BEDSTEADS, ready fitted for inspection in their Show Rooms, and their Stock consists of 2,000 Bedsteads, so that they can supply Orders at the shortest notice.

196, 197, 198 Tottenham Court Road, London, W.
HEAL & SON'S ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE, containing 30 Illustrations, with Prices of BEDSTEADS, BEDDING, and BEDROOM FURNITURE, sent free by post.

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PARQUET SOLIDAIRES (HOWARD'S PATENT, No. 1,548)
For Floors, Borders to Rooms, Wall and Ceiling Panels, &c.
Being manufactured by Steam Machinery, this beautiful Work is far superior to Foreign-made, costs less than Turkey Carpeting, and is guaranteed to stand perfectly.

25 and 27 BERNERS STREET, LONDON.
MECHI'S DRESSING BAGS.
112 Regent Street.
Illustrated Catalogues post free.

TRAVELLING and DRESSING BAGS.
SEASON 1869.
MATTIN & WEBB wish to call public attention to their new-arranged BAGS, which combine perfect Arrangement with large Holding Capacity. Best Quality and moderate Prices.

FOR LADIES.	FOR GENTLEMEN.
1st size, £1 1	1st size, £2 2
2nd " 1 10	2nd " 3 3
3rd " 2 5	3rd " 4 0
4th " 3 8	4th " 6 6
5th " 3 15	5th " 7 10
6th size, 7 0	6th " 10 10

All are completely fitted with Brushes, Combs, Cutlery, Bottles, &c., Outside Pockets, &c.
WEST-END SHOW ROOMS, 77 and 78 Oxford Street, London.
CITY WAREHOUSE, 71 and 72 Cornhill.

BENSON'S
WATCHES, CLOCKS, GOLD JEWELLERY

WATCHES	CLOCKS	GOLD JEWELLERY
Of all kinds.	Of all kinds.	Of the Newest Designs.
LEVER.	DRAWING-ROOM.	BRACELETS.
HORIZONTAL.	DINING-ROOM.	BROOCHES.
CHRONOMETER.	CARRIAGE.	EAR-RINGS.
KEYLESS.	CHURCH.	LOCKETS.
CHRONOGRAPH.	HALL AND SHOP.	NECKLACES.

Mr. BENSON, who holds the appointment to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, has just published two Pamphlets, enriched and embellished with Illustrations—one upon Watch and Clock Making, and the other upon Artistic Gold Jewellery. These are sent post free for 2d. each. Persons living in the Country or Abroad can select the Article required, and have it forwarded with perfect safety.

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THE CITY STEAM WORKS, 58 AND 60 LUDGATE HILL.

DINNER, DESSERT, BREAKFAST, TEA, and TOILET SERVICES.—The Newest and Best Patterns always on view.

Every Description of CUT TABLE GLASS in great variety. The Stock has been selected with much care, and is admirably suited for parties furnishing to choose from.

A large assortment of ORNAMENTAL GOODS, combining novelty with beauty. First-class quality—superior taste—low prices.

ALFRED B. PEARCE, 39 LUDGATE HILL, E.C. Established 1760.

36s.—THE MAYFAIR SHERRY.—36s.
Fit for a Gentleman's Table.
Bottles included, and Carriage paid.

Cases, 3s. per Dozen extra (returnable).
CHARLES WARD & SON
(Established upwards of a Century).
Mayfair, W., London.

PURE CLARETS.—E. LAZENBY & SON.
FAMILY CLARET.....(Vin Ordinaire).....12s.
DINNER CLARET.....(Sound full Bordeaux).....18s.—21s.
DESSERT CLARET.....(Fine flavoury Bordeaux).....30s.

Samples, and a Detailed List of other Wines, forwarded on application.
Cellars and Offices, 6 Edwards Street, Portman Square, London, W.

E. LAZENBY & SON'S PICKLES, SAUCES, and CONDIMENTS.—E. LAZENBY & SON, Sole Proprietors of the celebrated Receipts, and Manufacturers of the Pickles, Sauces, and Condiments so long and favourably distinguished by their Name, are compelled to caution the Public against the inferior Preparations which are put up and labelled in close imitation of their Goods, with a view to mislead the Public.

Consumers having difficulty in procuring the Genuine Articles are respectfully informed that they can be had direct from the Manufacturers, at their Foreign Warehouse, 6 Edwards Street Portman Square, London, W.

Priced Lists post free on application.

HARVEY'S SAUCE.—Caution.—The Admirers of this celebrated Sauce are particularly requested to observe that each bottle bears the well-known Label, signed "ELIZABETH HARVEY." This Label is protected by perpetual injunction in Chancery of the 9th July, 1858, and without it none can be genuine.

E. LAZENBY & SON, 6 Edwards Street, Portman Square, London, as Sole Proprietors of the Receipt for Harvey's Sauce, are compelled to give this Caution, from the fact that their Labels are closely imitated with a view to deceive Purchasers.

Sold by all respectable Grocers, Druggists, and Oilmen.

E. LAZENBY & SON beg to announce that their POSTAL ADDRESS has been changed from 6 Edwards Street, Portman Square, to 90 Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square; the Metropolitan Board of Works having directed that Edwards Street be united with Wigmore Street, under the title of Wigmore Street.

ALLSOPP'S PALE and BURTON ALES.—The above ALES are now being supplied in the finest condition, in Bottles and in Casks, by FINDLATER, MACKIE, TODD, & Co., at their New Stores, London Bridge, S.E.

EWEN'S BRAND TABLET. 6d.
The Soap for White and Soft Hands.
Also EWEN'S SANDAL WOOD TABLETS.
Sold everywhere by Chemists, Grocers, and Perfumers.

FIELD'S "WHITE PARAFFINE" SOAP.—A combination of the purest Soap with treble refined white solid Paraffine, in Tablets, 8d. and 1s.; is exquisitely perfumed, imparts a grateful softness and suppleness to the Hand, and exerts a cooling influence on the Skin peculiar to itself. See Name on each Tablet and Wrapper.

Wholesale—J. C. & J. FIELD, 35 UPPER MARSH, LAMBETH, S.

WEAKNESS.—The finest TONIC is WATERS' QUININE WINE, unrivalled as a Stomachic Stimulant. Sold by Grocers, Oilmen, Confectioners, &c. at 3s. per Dozen.

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INDIGESTION REMOVED.—MORSON'S PEPSINE WINE, POWDER, LOZENGES, and GLOBULES are the successful and popular Remedies adopted by the Medical Profession for Indigestion.

Sold in Bottles and Boxes from 2s., with full Directions, by THOMAS MORSON & SON, 31, 33, and 124 Southampton Row, Russell Square, London, and by all Pharmaceutical Chemists.

DR. LOCOCK'S WAFERS for COUGHS, COLDS, and HOARSENESS.—From the Rev. G. WARR, 36 Springfield Place, Leeds: "Whenever in times of Hoarseness, arising from Cold or excess of Public Speaking, I have taken Dr. Locock's Wafers, I have invariably found Relief."—Price is 1d. per Box. Sold by all Chemists.

PARR'S LIFE PILLS promote Appetite, aid Digestion, and purify the Blood. The Curative Properties of this pure Balsamic Medicine recommend it as the most useful Remedy for the restoration of sound Bodily Health and Mental Vigour.

ORIENTAL TOOTH-PASTE.—Established Forty Years as the most agreeable and effectual Preservative for the Teeth and Gums.

Sold universally in Pots, at 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.
None Genuine unless Signed JEWELL & BROWN, Manchester.

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CAPITAL, £1,000,000.

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Deposits received for fixed periods on the following terms, viz.:
 At 5 per cent. per annum, subject to 12 months' Notice of Withdrawal.
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Exceptional Rates for longer periods than Twelve Months, particulars of which may be obtained on application.

Bills issued at the current exchange of the day on any of the Branches of the Bank, free of charge; and Approved Bills purchased or sent for collection.

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Every other description of Banking Business and Money Agency, British and Indian, transacted.

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Insurances effected in all parts of the World.
 Prompt and Liberal Loss Settlements.

The fullest Advantages of the proposed Remission of Duty secured to the Assured at once.

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THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE OFFICE (Instituted A.D. 1696)

makes no Charge whatever for DUTY from this Date.
 1 New Bridge Street, E.C.

IMPERIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.
CHIEF OFFICE—1 OLD BROAD STREET, LONDON.

BRANCH OFFICE—16 PALL MALL, LONDON.

Instituted 1830.

The outstanding Sums assured by this Company, with the Bonuses secured thereon, amount to about £2,800,000, and the Assets, consisting entirely of Investments in First-class Securities, amount to upwards of £500,000.

The Assurance Reserve Fund alone is equal to more than nine times the Premium Income.

It will hence be seen that ample Security is guaranteed to the Policy-holders. Attention is invited to the Prospectus of the Company, from which it will appear that all kinds of Assurances may be effected on the most moderate terms and the most liberal conditions.

The Company also grants Annuities and Endowments.

Prospectuses may be obtained at the Offices as above, and of the Agents throughout the Kingdom.

ANDREW BADEN, Actuary and Manager.

LEGAL and GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,
10 FLEET STREET, TEMPLE BAR, E.C.

Policies of this Society are guaranteed by very ample Funds; receive Nine-tenths of the total Profits as Bonus; enjoy peculiar "Whole-World" and other distinctive privileges; and are protected by special conditions against liability to future question.

Invested Funds £1,540,000

Annual Income 200,000

LOANS ARE GRANTED ON THE SECURITY OF LIFE INTERESTS OR REVERSIONS.

E. A. NEWTON, Actuary and Manager.

ECONOMY IN PREMIUMS BY ANNUAL CASH BONUSES.

UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,
1 KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON, E.C.

JOHN FARLEY LEITH, Esq., Chairman.

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Augustus Bonquet, Esq., George Henry Brown, Esq., The Honourable James Byng, Osgood Hanbury, Jun., Esq., James Joseph Mackenzie, Esq., William N. Nicholson, Esq., Sir Macdonald Stephens, Charles Freville Surtees, Esq.

At the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting the Premium upon Policies Six Years and upwards in force was reduced 50 per cent.; the present being the Sixth year continuously during which the Premium has been reduced One-half. The following Table gives examples of the great Economy thus secured to the Policyholders:

Age in Policy.	Original Premium for £100.	Cash Bonus for the Year.	Net Premium for the Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
20	1 18 8	0 19 4	0 19 4
30	4 18 0	1 4 5	1 4 5
33	2 14 11	1 7 5	1 7 6
50	4 5 6	2 3 9	2 3 9

The gross Income of this Society is £156,000. The Policies in force now amount to £3,000,000 of which £1,800,000 are at English premiums, and the Assets exceed £550,000. The Cash Bonuses to the Assured, from the Year 1834, have amounted to £260,000.

Policies on Lives proceeding to, or residing in, India, are granted on the most favourable terms, at the Head-Office in London, or at the Branch Offices in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, as shown in the following examples:—

Age in Policy.	Original Premium for £100.	Reduced Premium for the Year.	Further Reduction, on return to Europe, to:
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
20 (Civil Life).....	4 18 0	2 8 0	0 19 4
30 do.....	4 16 0	2 8 0	1 4 5
33 do.....	4 14 0	2 7 0	0 19 4
50 do.....	5 8 0	2 14 0	1 4 5

Prospectuses and Annual Reports and Accounts may be obtained at the Society's Office, 1 King William Street, E.C., of Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 55 Parliament Street, S.W., of Messrs. Glyn & Co., Agents and Secretaries to the Society's Calcutta Board; Messrs. Bainbridge, Byrd, Gair, & Co., Agents and Secretaries to the Madras Board; and Messrs. Forbes & Co., Agents and Secretaries to the Bombay Board.

FREDK. HENDRIKS, Actuary and Secretary.

GENERAL LIFE and FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.
Established in the Year 1837.

CHIEF OFFICE—22 KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON, E.C.

BRANCH OFFICES: Birmingham, Temple Row; Bristol, Albion Chambers, Small Street; Blackburn, 1 Exchange Buildings; Bolton, 21 Market Street; Edinburgh, 2 St. Andrew's Square; Glasgow, 30 Royal Exchange Square; Hull, County Buildings; Liverpool, 12 Brunswick Street; Manchester, 18 Chapel Street; Newcastle, 3 Market Place, Market Street; Sheffield, 4 Royal Arcade; Stirling, 10 Norfolk Street; 17 Baker Street.

With Agencies in the principal Cities and Towns throughout the Kingdom.

CAPITAL, ONE MILLION STERLING.

Examples of last Bonus.

Amount Assured.	Premiums Paid.	Bonus added to Policy.
£2,000	£405 0 0	£125 0 0
1,000	80 0 0	40 0 0
1,000	42 8 8	20 0 0
500	36 16 8	13 0 0
100	7 19 4	5 0 0

LOANS.

Loans of £100 and upwards, on Mortgage of Freehold and Leasehold Property.

Loans on Personal Security, with Life Assurance.

Loans of £25 and upwards, on Policies of sufficient rate and value.

GEORGE SCOTT FREEMAN, Secretary.

IMPERIAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.
1 OLD BROAD STREET, and 16 and 17 PALL MALL, LONDON.

Established 1803.

SUBSCRIBED AND INVESTED CAPITAL, £1,600,000.

Insurances due at Midsummer should be renewed within Fifteen days thereafter (last day, July 9), or the same will become void.

JAMES HOLLAND, Superintendent.

BRITISH EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

32 NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON, E.C.

Established in 1817.

THE SEVENTH DIVISION OF PROFITS WILL BE DECLARED IN 1870.

ALFRED LENCH SAUL, Secretary.

A.D. 1790.

ROYAL EXCHANGE ASSURANCE CORPORATION.
(Established by Charter of His Majesty George the First.)

FOR SEA, FIRE, LIFE, AND ANNUITIES.

OFFICE—ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON. BRANCH OFFICE—29 PALL MALL, S.W.

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CHARLES JOHN MANNING, Esq., Deputy-Governor.

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Medical Referee—SAMUEL SOLLY, Esq., F.R.S.

NOTICE.—The usual Fifteen Days allowed for payment of FIRE PREMIUMS falling due at Midsummer will expire on July 9.

FIRE and LIFE ASSURANCES may be effected on advantageous terms.

FIRE DUTY.—This Tax having been abolished, the Premium is now the only Charge for Fire Insurances.

FARMING-STOCK.—No extra charge is made for the use of Steam Threshing-Machines.

The Reversionary Bonus on British Life Policies has averaged nearly 2 per cent. per annum on the sum assured.

Equivalent reductions have been made in the Premiums payable by persons who preferred that form of Bonus.

The Divisions of Profit take place every Five years.

Any sum not exceeding £15,000 may be insured on one Life.

This Corporation affords to the Assured—

Liberal participation in Profits, with the guarantee of a large invested Capital Stock, and exemption, under Royal Charter, from the liabilities of partnership.

The advantages of modern practice, with the security of an Office whose resources have been tested by the experience of nearly a Century and a half.

Royal Exchange, London. ROBERT F. STEELE, Secretary.

COMPENSATION in Case of INJURY, and a Fixed SUM
in Case of DEATH, caused by Accident of any Kind, may be secured by a Policy of the RAILWAY PASSENGERS ASSURANCE COMPANY. An Annual Payment of 13 to 16 sh. insures £1,000 at Death, and an Allowance at the rate of 25 per Week for Injury.

Offices—64 CORNHILL and 10 REGENT STREET.

WILLIAM J. VIAN, Secretary.

DIVIDENDS 5 and 10 to 20 PER CENT.
For Safe and Profitable Investments

Read SHARP'S INVESTMENT CIRCULAR (post free).
 The JUNE Number now ready.

It contains all the best-paying and safest Stock and Share Investments of the Day.

CAPITALISTS, SHAREHOLDERS, INVESTORS, TRUSTEES, will find the above Investment Circular a safe, valuable, and reliable guide.

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(Established 1852.) Bankers, London and Westminster, Lombard, E.C.

STAINED GLASS WINDOWS and CHURCH DECORATIONS.

HEATON, BUTLER, & BAYNE,

GARRICK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

Illustrated Catalogue, post free, 3s. 6d.

PRIZE MEDAL—LONDON AND PARIS.

RODRIGUES' MONOGRAMS, ARMS, CRESTS, and
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